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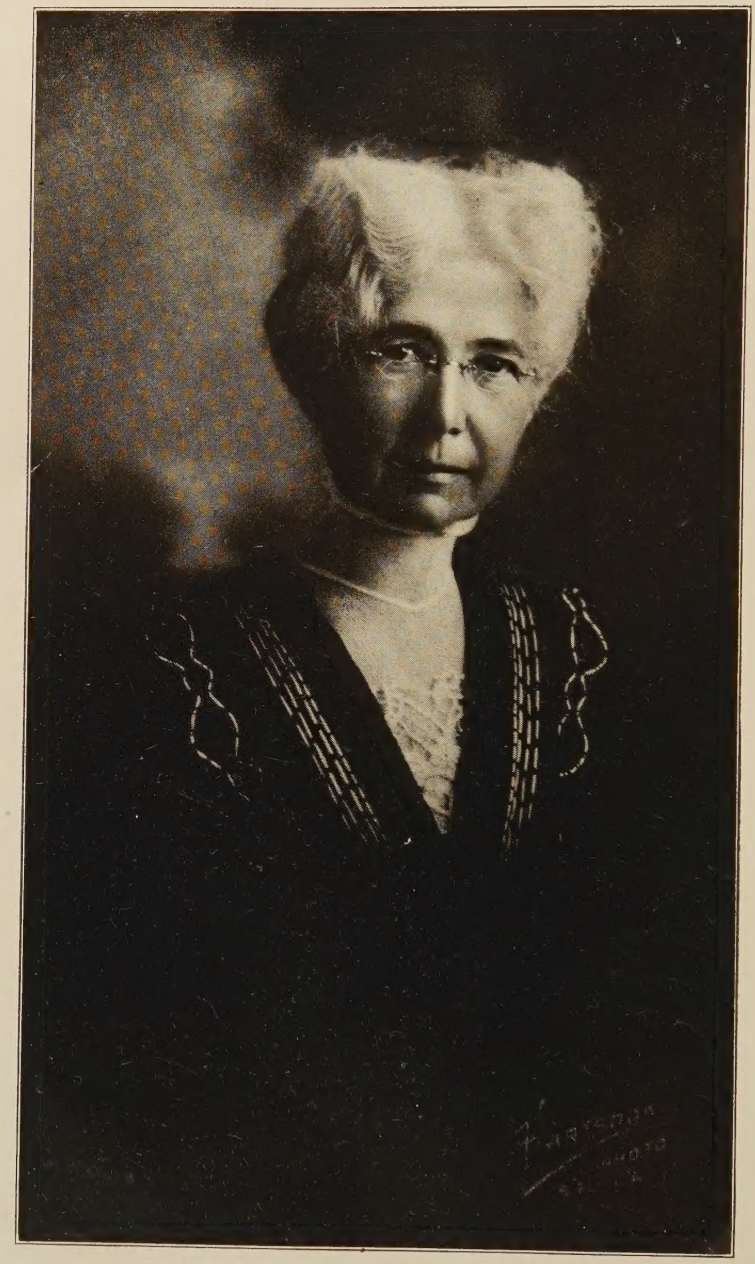

ESTELLE AVERY SHARPE.

Foundation Stones of Success

Edwin Markham, Editor-in-Chief

VOLUME X

The Making of a Citizen

By

Estelle Avery Sharpe

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Introduction

The world war has sobered mankind and turned the thoughts of men away from the absorption of self-interest toward the great realities of life and death. Men and nations alike are prepared as never before to apply their best energies to fundamental tasks. The most fundamental task before all nations is that of making citizens. Upon success in this undertaking must depend the happiness of the people at home and the influence of the nation abroad. In a republic like America, national efficiency will quickly rise or fall with the efficiency of the people in performing this task. Now that a scientific age has come upon the world, and national efficiency is the cry in every land, as the nations strive for ascendency in war and in commerce, the American people must turn their thoughts anew to the task of making citizens.

Character is the greatest thing in the world. Upon it rests the whole structure of civilization. The maximum development of character is the greatest objective of all life, the purpose of creation. Character-building is the heart and soul of making a citizen.

Society should give its full attention to the specific aim of having every child of the nation develop so far as possible into the finest character it is capable of becoming. This will require a revision of the ancient Bill of Rights, in the light of modern scientific knowledge, to include the right to be well born, without degeneracy in the blood, the right to be born in a home with parental love for the tender years, the right of real education in the plastic period, including play and sport, the right to a moral uplifting atmosphere and environment, the right to be protected, especially in minority, against agencies of degeneracy. Modern science has shown that Alcohol

is a specific for degeneracy that tears down character and is a cause of hereditary blight in the blood of our people, of disruption of our homes, of loss of education to our children, of debauchery of our youth. Character-building, citizen-making, cannot thrive in a land cursed by liquor.

In this great work of citizen-making the part of the individual is as vital as the part of society. Beginning with the tender years and continuing unceasingly, we should bring to bear all available agencies to inculcate the ideal of individual worthiness, by which each person is prompted to develop in himself a noble character. The average American does not take seriously the business of being a citizen. Instead he is only too likely to delegate this lofty function of his to the partisan press and the professional politician. These two form his opinions for him and dictate his policies, if indeed he takes the trouble to acquire either even at second-hand.

Our forefathers endured great hardship, fought and died that they might leave us a goodly heritage—the right to self-government. But to this day we are apparently content with the mere right, and have seldom taken the trouble to possess ourselves actually of that liberty to which we so loudly proclaim our right. Evidently we do not yet realize that the liberty of self-government cannot be bequeathed to us by anyone, but must be achieved by our own efforts through force of character and will, aye, with blood and tears, if need be. Furthermore self-government like heaven is "not won at a single bound," and eternal vigilance is the only price at which it may be preserved.

The business of being a citizen, therefore, depends, like everything else in the world worth while, upon the ideals of the people. And you, O schools and homes of America, that form the ideals of the budding citizen, have you always been true to the trust of the Republic? Have you never been criminally careless in the business of mak-

ing citizens? Have you perhaps with patriotic fervor dwelt long upon the wonderful deeds of the makers and saviors of the Republic—but failed to blazon forth in words of living fire the responsibilities and duties of the heirs of all this glory?

Service, even to self-sacrifice, is the key to the exercise of the nobler faculties and therefore to the development of character and of citizenship. Let every person strive without ceasing to serve more and more the members of his family, his friends, neighbors, associates, his town and county, his state and country, and all humanity, in fact, to make his life count for a maximum of useful service. Such a life in harmony with the great forces of the universe will insure the highest development of character, and bring a peace beyond all ordinary understanding, with which to live without reproach and to die without fear. To anyone seeking thus to live, especially to the youth, I would make a simple, concrete, fundamental suggestion: Beware of alcohol! Beware of all degenerating tendencies! Be chaste, and strive throughout to walk with God!

Richmond Pearson Hobson

Tuxedo Park, New York,
July 25, 1916.

Foreword

There must ever be a certain conformity between the political institutions of a country and the moral character of its citizens. There is one set of virtues that fits for life in a despotism, another set is needed in an aristocracy, while a still different set of virtues is required for citizenship in a democracy: under a despotism obedience is the supreme virtue; in a democracy obedience is still required, but not that which springs from fear or force but that which springs from choice and good will. But the supreme virtue needed is justice. Other forms of state are based on selfishness, the democratic alone on unselfishness. Because the truth has not been recognized that it is idle to make institutions without also making the special character to run them, American youth have not been taught justice and, hence, our institutions have been more democratic in form than in spirit. For, before there can be real democracy, each for all and all for each, the citizens must be trained in habits of just thinking, just feeling, just acting. Justice is, therefore, the basis of the course in ethics.

But more than this is necessary. In order to perform faithfully the duties of democratic citizenship, American youth, the great majority of whom as adults will read nothing but newspapers and largely partisan ones at that, must obtain before they leave school some knowledge of the principles on which their country is based, some comprehension of their rights and duties, some understanding of the correlation between freedom and responsibility, some conception of the ideals of democracy. Because the majority of our youth leave school at the close of the eighth year of the course, this instruction should be given in the seventh and eighth grades. Text

books in civics which lay stress upon administrative details, which tell much of the methods of voting and the organization of legislatures and the duties of this office and that, do not affect character. A boy may know all the duties of a county treasurer or city mayor and yet be utterly destitute of the real spirit which must actuate him to vote rightly and play his part wisely and nobly in the body politic. It is only knowledge and love of democratic principles which can give this spirit. Moreover, as writers on democracy from Aristotle to Professor Giddings say, the great problem of democratic states is to keep the successive generations of citizens alive to the real nature of democracy, the real nature of the rights and duties of democratic citizenship. For these two reasons the course in civics in these two grades deals not with administrative details, which the youth learn all about long before they can vote, but with the principles of democracy and their essential social truth and rightness.

Our object has been to inspire the children with such a love for the grandeur and justice of these principles, such a reverence for the object of democracy, such a realization of the sacredness of the obligation to subordinate individual interests to the public welfare, that they will go forth armed with the vision of the ideal democracy and determined, not only to do all that they can individually for the establishment and maintenance of the real democratic state, but also to resist with might and main every attempt on the part of others to undermine or supplant its principles.

The conception of freedom and of office not as ends but as means is led up to by the work in ethics and civics for the first six grades. The course in civics in these grades deals with the concrete civic work of the different political units, city, county, state, nation, as work devised to satisfy human needs and carried out by the co-operation of the people concerned. It aims both to establish the connection in the children's minds between

civic machinery and the work it has to do, and to make them realize that this work is a social function.

When they have studied the fire or health department, the park or waterworks system, and have learned that its function is wholly social and that the character of each organization is determined solely by the work it has to do, they come to realize that the only right basis for choosing men for each organization is their ability to do the work required. Thus by the seventh grade they should have "an ideal that will make them the enemy of spoils politics in any form," that will make them secure expert efficiency and honesty in their public officials. But not alone do we endeavor to impress the social service of political work. The co-operative side is strongly brought out, and the truth impressed that the people do all these things and that the children themselves are a part of the social team. The question is continually brought home to them, "What part will you play in this doing as well as in this getting?"

Very early in our study of the problem of live, vital civic teaching for the lower grades, our attention was called to the remarkable "Outline for Teaching Civics" issued by the Chicago Normal School for the use of Chicago schools. After thorough examination of other plans we became convinced that the Chicago plan was by far the best. Through the enlightened public spirit of Mrs. Ella F. Young, then Principal of the Normal School, and of Mr. H. W. Thurston, the compiler of the "Outline," we have been permitted to draw upon this storehouse of material gathered with so much painstaking study and investigation, and arranged with such consummate art to lead to the three main conceptions—the social function of the work of each unit, the co-operative nature of that work, and the obligation to take part "wisely, bravely, and under the influence of ideals in civic life." Our Chapter desire to take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging the deep obligations they are under to

Mrs. Ella F. Young and the Normal School of which she was the head, and especially to Mr. Henry W. Thurston. All the committee has done has been to adapt and generalize the course so that it can be used as a suggestive model for similar concrete civic work in any part of the United States.

The course in civics no more than in ethics is arbitrarily fixed, although we believe that as arranged it forms a complete whole. Superintendents, teachers and parents will, of course, use their own discretion as to the omission of any part.

We offer these lessons in the hope that they will help both to bridge the gulf between the school life and the community life so that the children may realize themselves as integral members of society, and to make them understand the fundamental principles of democratic government and to realize their basic social truth and rightness.

The men of the Revolution bequeathed to us the opportunity for liberty,—not liberty itself, since that is a matter of character. The Colonel George Croghan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, desire to discharge somewhat of the debt they owe their ancestors by helping to create the character which shall make use of this opportunity, not only by preserving in their entirety and purity the principles and institutions which render liberty possible, but by using liberty as simply a means to the great end, the progress of society.

Miss Estelle Avery Sharpe,
Mrs. George Zimmerman,
Mrs. Norman Sherwood,
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Mrs. Albert V. Baumann,
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Committee on Civics and Ethics, Colonel George Croghan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Fremont, Ohio.

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RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON.

CHAPTER I

THE FAMILY

As are families, so is society. If well-ordered, well-instructed and well-governed, they are the springs from which go forth the streams of national greatness and prosperity—of civil order and public happiness.—*Thayer.*

THE family which represents the social organization in its most elementary form has been the chief social factor in every age and clime. Since the development and realization of the individual depends on his usefulness to others and his service to the social order, family organization is of supreme importance. It is often called the bulwark of the nation's stability. "It is the family life alone," says Bosanquet, "with its claims and responsibilities, its continuity and community of interests and sympathies, which keeps the individual in the main current of social life."

National Coherence Based on Strong Family Ties

The moral basis of a nation, as of the family, is family affection. Love draws men and women together in the institution of marriage, and mutual affection binds parents and children in this social unit. Destroy the smaller social unit, and the larger is destroyed as well. Loose family ties mean uncertain national coherence and loyalty, and a breaking up of all family life would quickly result in national degeneracy and death.

The family is a unit and not merely the sum of the units composing it. It is an entity with its own will, its own interest, entirely different from any individual will or interest, or the sum of the individual wills or interests. For example, it may be to the father's interest that the children work for him while they should still be in school, but it is not to the interest of the family. It may be to

the interest of each one to spend his money entirely upon himself, but it is not to the interest of the family.

Family solidarity results not merely from its moral basis, but also from its industrial unity. In a stable family each member contributes his services. The weakest contribute something, the stupidest give their strength, the ablest their executive ability, age gives its wisdom, youth its labor. This industrial unity means that its members are stronger in combination than they would be apart and thus the economic bond holds the family together.

Family Solidarity Leads to National Solidarity

This solidarity of the family, this distinct personality of its own, also results from the transmission and inheritance of family traits and customs. Certain royal families, for instance, are known through centuries for the possession of a certain kind of nose or color of hair, or mental or moral characteristic.

As each member of the family creates in time a new family of his own, the family affections and prejudices, customs and beliefs bind together distant members of the same stock and unite generation with generation, expanding into the common feeling of a nation. Out of the solidarity of the family is thus derived the national coherency, the national solidarity. Out of it comes the force which molds mankind into the larger family, the brotherhood of man.

Obligations of Husband and Wife

Relationship carries with it obligation. The very existence of relationship carries with it mutuality of obligation. In the relationship of the family there are the mutual obligations of husband and wife, of parents and children. The husband is the bread-winner, the wife is the home-maker. It is his to earn the livelihood, the competency that will insure comfort and happiness and security for old age. It is hers to order the household. She is primarily responsible for the care of the children and the welfare of the weak and subordinate members of the family—backward children, old people, domestics; for

the general management of the home and for the expenditure of the household. She must determine what things are necessary and what are luxuries, what are the pressing needs of each and what shall be the relation between income and outgo. This latter function is national in its bearing, for by laying down lines of consumption she is laying down lines of production and directing industrial and commercial enterprise. Even in the fare which she provides she is affecting the national character and efficiency. The functions, indeed, of no factor in the nation are more important than those of the housewife and mother. Again, the husband is the protector, standing between the family and the buffets of the world. The wife is the torch-bearer, holding aloft the ideal of duty. It is their mutual duty to love, cherish and serve each other.

No Factor More Important Than the Housewife and Mother

The duty of the parents is to provide food, shelter, clothing, tender but firm care and nurture, and such mental, moral and physical training as shall best fit the children to develop their personality and be of service to their fellow men. These duties of the parents are the rights of the children. They, on their part, must render honor, respect and obedience to their parents, and such help as they can, to pay the debt they owe them, a debt which can be fully paid only by care and attention to them in their old age. These duties of the children are the rights of the parents.

The purpose of the family is to fit for citizenship, to train youth in habits that shall fit them to play their part nobly and wisely in the nation. The family is the training school of the nation. The new relations established by marriage tend to develop the moral personality of husband and wife by fostering a sense of responsibility. A single person, however rashly he acts, becomes the principal sufferer himself. Why should one's room be clean or wages saved? But in marriage each person has his sphere and is responsible for two in that sphere.

The Family Is the Training School of the Nation

He cannot be as careless of another's welfare as he is of his own. The sense of responsibility deepens when children come. Responsibility for helpless children is the strongest motive to use the opportunities of life earnestly and wisely. More than any other factor it rouses husband and wife to their fullest efficiency. They work long hours, undergo severe hardships, undertake perilous enterprises. This makes the difference in steadiness and persistence between the married man and the bachelor. The latter more than the former squanders time and money upon cards, cigars and drink. The family relationship also trains parents in self-sacrifice. Personal comfort is sacrificed to provide for the present and future happiness of the children.

An Incentive to Fullest Efficiency

The child owes his development to the family life. Through his long dependence upon his parents and consequent long and close association with his brothers and sisters, habits of respect, obedience and helpfulness are formed, and, later, the consciousness of mutual dependence. Since persons cannot associate closely, not even children at play, without division of labor and its concomitant, union of labor, habits of unselfishness and co-operation are formed. This is well illustrated in the farmer's or artisan's family. In the former the father takes the direction of outside affairs. One son milks and feeds the cows, a younger son drives them to and from the pasture, another splits and brings in the wood, etc. The mother has the direction of inside affairs, and one daughter sweeps and dusts, another attends to the cooking, while all co-operate in the washing and ironing. In the artisan's family, the father works at his trade while the mother orders the household. The young children make beds, cook, wash dishes, sweep and dust, and run errands. The older ones work at their trades and bring home their money to help maintain the family.

Division of Labor and Union of Interests

This division and consequent exchange of labor leads to the idea of property, which not only develops habits of

thrift, honor and honesty, but strengthens the idea of justice, to each his own. The affection and the economic bond which bind the family together as a corporate entity foster a deep feeling of loyalty to its interests and reputation. This loyalty prevents the members from doing anything that will injure the integrity or lower the standard of the family, thus creating habits of courage and temperance.

Loyalty, labor, courage, thrift, honor, honesty, unselfishness, co-operation, are the virtues of the family, and because these are also virtues of citizenship, the home is the root of citizenship. It is in socializing the will that the home makes one of its greatest contributions to the nation. The chief peril to society is the undisciplined will, the unsocialized desire. Now, the stability of the home comes not through the dominion of one will and the subjection of the others, but through the discipline of mutual service, the giving and receiving mutual correction, the sharing of mutual burdens, joys and sorrows. The friction arising when different personalities are brought into such close relationship involves adjustment, self-surrender, self-sacrifice. The will, the desires are socialized.

Home the Root of Citizenship

The family is the source of patriotism. Love of parents, of brothers and sisters expands into love of country. The words "hearth" and "home" have been chosen to stand for country because there are the dear ones. Public spirit is nurtured by the family ties because through them we are connected, visibly and tangibly, with the state, which would otherwise be an abstract idea. Sacrifice for the state, the moral energy which does not hesitate at any cost when the end justifies it, has its root in the sacrifice continually practiced in the home. Such is the preparation for citizenship which is given by the home.

Love of Home Expands into Patriotism

As the institution of marriage is threatened from many causes, some of which have their bases in the wrong con-

ception of marriage as a contract which involves only the interests of those known as "the parties concerned," a conception that has obtained for many centuries, especial stress should be laid upon the new conception of marriage as a social institution involving the fabric of the social order. No one lives to himself even in marriage.

Conditions Threatening the Home

Whatever affects the stability of the home affects the stability of the nation. Laxity of divorce laws, social immorality, childless or very small families, and especially such an economic system that the husband is not able to support the family and the wife must lend her exertions, undermine the home. The home is no longer a home, a training school of character. When wages are so low that the children must also labor long hours in shop or factory when very young, the social value of the home is destroyed entirely. The home of extreme wealth, on the other hand, also loses social value as a training school of character, unless there is present rare good sense. The bad effect of ease upon the home's stability and social value was appreciated by those economists who seriously proposed that the chestnut trees of Corsica be cut down so that families might be forced to work. While this was not done, no fresh trees of this species were allowed to be planted for two years at the end of the 18th century, according to Demolins, quoted by Bosanquet.

Create High Ideals

Every effort should be made to show the beauty of the true home, to create a higher idealism, and to reveal marriage as designed, not for amusement, not for a selfish life of ease, not as an escape from responsibilities, but as a source of the greatest social service combined with the purest, highest happiness known on earth. Herein lies the only safety of the state.

Stories and Quotations

That which makes a people is domestic life. The loss of it degrades a people to a horde.

The second Trinity—father, mother, child.—*Lamartine.*

* * *

The mother is the only complete woman, the father the only complete man.—*President G. Stanley Hall.*

AT THE HOME OF THE SMITHS

Will, a boy of ten, looked up from his arithmetic one evening to find his baby sister playing with his favorite top. "Oh, you can't have that! You'll break it!" and he jumped up and snatched it away. Baby set up a howl. "Let the child have it," said Mr. Smith, just entering the room, "and stop all this noise." "Yes," said his wife, "give it back to her, Will. The child is so high-strung that we must not cross her." Will did so and then went sullenly back to his arithmetic. In a few minutes the toy was broken. Will was so disturbed by the destruction of his favorite toy that he could not concentrate his mind on his lesson, and so he heard his father say, "We speeded on West Avenue like the wind. Of course, it was against the law, but we went so fast that the policeman could not see our number"—and then Will heard no more, for the problem seemed to get harder and harder. Finally in despair he ran to his mother who was reading a novel. "Mamma, I can't get these examples. Won't you help me?" "Now, Will, don't bother me! Can't you see that I am busy? Go to Grace." Will went slowly into the room where Grace was coiled up in a chair reading. "Grace, won't you help me get these problems? I can't see into them and teacher says—" "No, I can't! I'm reading and I'm just at the most interesting place. There! Now you're mad! I never saw such a boy!" "Stop that quarreling," spoke up their father from the depths of his easy chair in the library where he was smoking. "Go to bed instantly, both of you!" "Oh, I don't want to go," cried Will. "I must get these problems." But Mrs. Smith rang for the maid who took him off, crying and struggling, to bed. Grace paid no attention to

Unjustly Deprived of His Toy

The Family Selfishly Refuse to Help Him

her father's command until he said, "Grace," in a stern tone, when she rose, slowly sauntered into the next room, dropped down in a corner and went on reading. Her mother smiled but said nothing, as she dropped her book and went into the library, closing the door after her. "Well, my dear, I have concluded to buy that automobile of Jackson's." "You have! Is it not more than we can afford?" "Well, it is pretty high for us, but it is cheap considering the machine. And I will not have a cheap machine. We'll pull through somehow." "Well, I am very glad, for I am the only woman in my set that has not one. I have been so mortified." Then the two went to their rooms to dress for a reception.

A Study in Irregularity of Habits, Extravagance and Deceit

The next morning Mr. Smith ate his breakfast alone and hurried off to catch an early train. When Grace came into the breakfast room a half hour later, a different breakfast was served. When Will rushed in, he demanded ham and eggs and pickles and pie, and raised so much fuss that the cook finally sent them up. Grace told him about the dance the "frat" boys gave two nights before. "But I thought the high schools weren't allowed 'frats,'" Will exclaimed. "Well, that is the rule, but they have them just the same. What's a rule for but to be broken? Only don't get caught, that is the point."

Questions:—Point out all the instances of injustice, of disobedience, of deceit, of the absence of the co-operative feeling, of thrift. Point out every example of unsocialized will. Name all the bad habits forming. In the case of the top was there any injustice to the baby in the parents' yielding to her to stop her crying? When is the best time to form habits? What danger does the child run if that "high-strung" nature is not taught self-control? (It is the uncurbed emotional nature which brings in a plea of emotional insanity as a defense against punishment for crime. The criminal may or may not be responsible for what he does in emotional insanity, but he is responsible for yielding to the habit of unrestrained

emotionalism during all his previous life, and his parents are responsible for the beginning of the habit.) Does a cry hurt a child? About how many cries are necessary before a child realizes that his mother does not intend to yield? Point out how the children in this family were taught disobedience to law. Point out a lack of patriotism, instances of dishonesty and dishonor, of mob-spirit. What makes this home a failure as a training school? (Selfishness and thoughtlessness.) What sort of citizens will these children make? What sort of men and women? How were the parents responsible for the different breakfasts, the different tastes?

AT THE HOME OF THE BROWNS

Tom sat in his chair by the window trying to catch the last gleam of light. He was crocheting a pretty kimono of pink yarn, for something was the matter with Tom's legs and he had to sit, day in and day out. A lady from the Settlement, when she found out how he was fretting because he could not contribute to the family income, taught him how to crochet and gave him all the new designs. Tom was much happier now and bravely endured the raillery of the neighborhood boys on his "girl's occypashun."

The Lame One of the Brown Family

As he laid down his work, his sisters greeted him merrily from the door. Soon Nell was preparing supper, and Mary was finishing the household tasks left undone in the morning because they went so early to their work. Tom always washed the breakfast dishes, though it took him a long time and occasioned him much pain, which, however, he never mentioned. The boy wondered over the mysterious glances that passed between his sisters, and even more at their actions when his big brother John entered and there was great glee in the tiny kitchen. He was beginning to feel sore at heart over being left out, when his mother came in, weary and worn from her labor but with a cheerful greeting for Tom and praise for his work.

Then John wheeled his chair to the table and they sat down to the plain but well cooked supper. Tom did not care for corn bread, but ate it because his brother had told him that it made heat for the body, and Tom was always cold.

The supper was eaten gaily, each one telling his experiences to amuse Tom who was alone all day. Finally his mother broke the merry chatter by saying, "Well, children, what is all this excitement about? Tom and I feel left out with all these mysterious glances flying around." Whereupon John rose to his feet, to the cry of "hear, hear" from his sisters. Lifting his cup of coffee, "Here's to the better health of Mother and Tom, who are going into the country for two weeks. Now, Madam, it's not polite to interrupt," with a ceremonious bow to her. "The girls and I have been saving our money and you two are going to get health and strength with it—and there you are!" he lamely concluded, sitting down amid the applause of his sisters and the clamorous delight of Tom. The girls immediately took up the story and went into the practical details of the plan. Mrs. Brown felt that she ought not to accept their sacrifice, for now she understood why they did not get new hats, and why John could not find any coat at Robinson's to suit him, but when she looked at Tom's white face and meagre body she knew that she must.

Loving Plans for Mother and Tom

While Nell and Mary were clearing away the dishes, John helped Tom with his lessons, and Mrs. Brown mended some things for her boys. Later, when John departed to attend a political meeting in the ward, she read out loud from a magazine, while the girls sewed on a dress for Mary, and Tom lay dreaming of the delights of the country.

Mutual Helpfulness

Later in the evening when Tom had gone to bed and John had returned, Mrs. Brown read a letter to her children from the superintendent of the inebriate asylum where Mr. Brown had been confined some time. The

letter said that he was entirely cured of the drink habit and was changed in many ways. He would return to them in a month. The letter made them all very happy. As they broke up for the night, John said to his mother, "I'll speak to my foreman to-morrow for a place for Father, and then I can go to and fro with him and it will be easier for him to resist temptation. And we must never let the people about here know that Father was ever a drunkard." "Yes," said his mother, "we have kept it so far from them and we always will." "And you won't have to work any more when Father gets to earning wages," cried the girls gleefully, as they bade her good-night.

Father Cured of Drink Habit

When Mrs. Brown rose in the morning she found that Nell had put upon the fire escape the little can of milk to keep cool. She explained to the girls, who were having their first experience of living in a flat, that the law forbade anything being put on the fire escapes and showed them why. John told them he would make a cooling box that he had read of, which could be hung on the outside wall. After breakfast was over, they all went to their work, leaving Tom alone but happy.

Questions:—Give instances of co-operation, of courage, of thrift, of loyalty, of respect for law, of the evils to the family of intemperance. What kind of citizens will these children make? Which family, the Smiths or the Browns, was an integral part of society? Which was a disruptive force?

A Lesson in Obedience to Law

The beautiful story of the home life of Sir Thomas More should be told.

AT THE HOME OF THE VILYOFS

In a big tenement house that shelters over a thousand people, the Vilyofs are cramped and squeezed into two small rooms, dirty, ill-smelling, and lighted only by windows that open upon an airshaft. Two small children, gaunt, scrawny, and hollow-eyed, tumble about, doing

their little best to keep from under the feet of the lodgers; for the family, having two rooms, take lodgers, to help pay the rent. The poor, mean pallets are occupied by one shift of men and women after another, the bedding never having time to cool and seldom being changed. The father, sallow, emaciated, and stoop-shouldered, bends over his tailor's press-board from one year's end to another. Before her machine at one of the narrow, dirty windows, sits the pallid, cough-racked mother, stitching hour after hour, day in and day out. Tottering about with the last baby, a peaked, fretful little thing, in her arms, the eldest child, a girl of eleven, tries to do the confused housekeeping. There is little, however, to cook, for the pay of both parents is pitifully small. Her eldest brother, a cripple of ten, helps his parents at their work as much as he can. Neither child has any time to play. The other three children—there are eight in the family—spend most of their time playing with the hundreds of other children of the tenement. Down in the filthy street they breathe foul air, hear profane and obscene speech, and witness dreadful scenes of vice and crime. The Vilyofs are a type of the tenement-house population of our large cities.

A Typical Tenement-house Home

Questions:—What conditions make for disease in this family? In what ways may the ill health of this family affect the health of the other parts of the city? What social injustices does this family suffer? To what three B's have they a right? (Bread, Beauty, Brotherhood.) What sort of education does the street give the children? What sort of citizens will these children become? Can a family, living under such conditions, cherish much loyalty to the state? Will the children grow up with a respect for law? (They see the policemen only in their capacity as punishers, not as helpers.) Will they grow up chaste? (No privacy possible in the two small crowded rooms.) Will they grow up temperate? Will they be properly prepared for adult activities? Will

Menace of the Tenement to Society

these children, when grown, be likely to help society, or to prey upon it? What one family virtue is developed in this family? Co-operation. These questions will suggest many others that will make the children realize the value to the state of the right kind of home. These should be followed by others upon cleanliness, orderliness, and other individual virtues developed by right family life.

AT THE HOME OF THE ROBINSONS

"Mamma, who is that man that is here every Sunday?" asked Roy one Monday morning, as he and his little cousin sat eating a late breakfast with his mother in their beautiful private dining room in the family hotel.

A Father Immersed in Business

"What a question, Roy! You know that is your father."

"Yes, of course I do. But I so seldom see him, I hardly feel I know him at all."

"Your father is very deeply engaged in business. He has to go out before we rise in the morning and comes back late at night. He is making money for us, so that we can have this beautiful home, our automobiles and our yacht."

Mrs. Robinson went on to explain that all these things cost a great deal of money, but that they were what made life worth living.

"Oh, Mamma, is that so? Those Gray children that you won't let me play with because they are not very rich, seem to have such jolly good times. I just wish I could play with them," he said plaintively, going to the window which looked down upon a quaint frame house set in a pretty garden.

A Snobbish and Arrogant Mother

"No, indeed, you cannot. I do not know Mrs. Gray. She is not in my set. Her husband is only a poor architect. I want you to associate only with those that are as rich or richer than you, those that will help you on in life. Always climb socially."

As they rose from the table, the little girl's shoelace came untied and Roy knelt to tie it. But his mother stopped him and told him to ring the bell for her maid. "You must learn not to wait upon others. That is the business of servants."

That night when Mr. Robinson came home, his wife told him of Roy's query of the morning. Roy, lying awake in the next room, heard his father laugh over it as a good joke.

"Poor little beggar, I wish I could see more of him! But then, I am giving him the best teachers in the city. I guess it's all right."

Shirking Responsibility

Mrs. Robinson seized the opportunity to propose to her husband that they send Roy, after his little cousin had gone home, to some good private school—one of the so-called "home schools." "We would be so much freer to enjoy life—to go yachting, to spend week-ends, to go automobiling, to play bridge—if we had no child around," she concluded.

Roy had fallen asleep, but waked up to hear his father tell how he had worked and schemed for months and used every sort of legal trickery to batter down the value of a certain business enterprise, and how he had finally succeeded in driving the owner to the wall and had secured the business at his own price. He told it with great glee, and ended by throwing over his wife's neck a superb necklace—"Your share of the profits."

Dishonesty of "Big Business"

The next morning, much to his son's surprise, Mr. Robinson ate breakfast with his family. Apropos of a case of theft in the hotel, the conversation turned upon dishonesty, and Roy received a little preachment from his father upon the virtue of honesty. Later in the day the boy told his mother what he had overheard and asked if his father had been honest.

"But, my dear, that's business. It's not your father's fault that the other man was not sharper. In business it's proper to take every advantage. One must be for

himself first, last and always. The other fellow must look out for himself."

Questions:—Is this a complete home? (No, because the father has little part in it.) Is this home "an institute for the affections"? Give instances of arrogance, of snobbishness, of selfishness. What does Mrs. Robinson make the chief end of life? What sort of pleasure is it? (Pleasure of excitement and vulgar ostentation.) Through what means only can these pleasures be obtained? (Money.) Bring out by questioning all the ways in which the husband and wife are hardened by their pursuit of wealth and social position. How did the father's practice coincide with his teaching? Could his precepts upon honesty have any influence upon Roy, who knew that his father's life was not honest? Are there two standards of conduct, one for business and the other for private life, as Mrs. Robinson claimed? How was she destroying the feeling of fraternity, of brotherly serviceableness, in her son? Why did she wish to send this young boy away to school—"a home school"? (In order that she might live her life of pleasure without any burdens whatever, without any sense of responsibility, and in order that he might get the training which she and her husband refused to take the trouble to give. Make the children also see, if possible, that the parents, by their selfish course, themselves lose a valuable training.)

This Family Fails in Duty to Each Other

In every way possible make the children see the selfishness, the spirit of mean snobbishness, the fierce strife for wealth and social position, that characterize this home, and how contrary they are to the principles of justice, co-operation, self-denial and brotherhood that rule the real home. Bring out clearly the failure of this family to perform its duty to the state—to train for citizenship. Never let the children lose sight of the truth that marriage is an institution which enters into the composition of the fabric of the social order, and is not a contract involving only the interests of "the parties concerned."

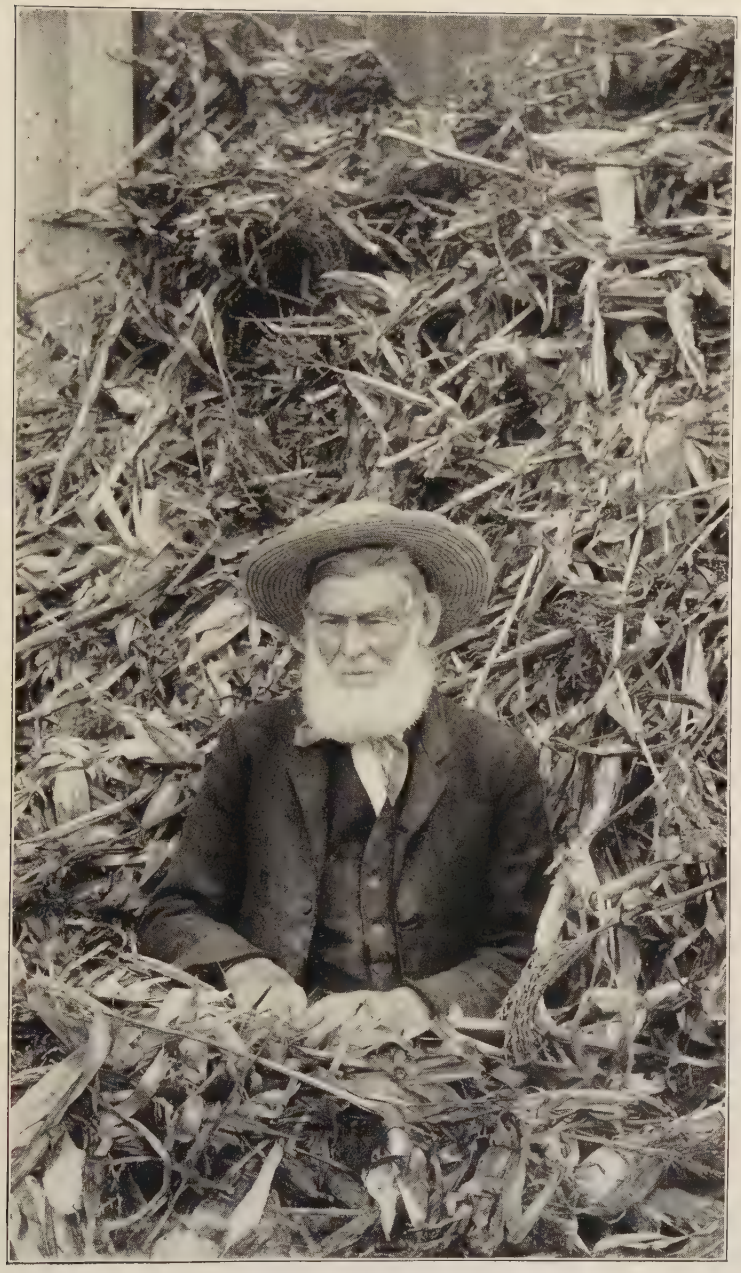
Failure in Duty to the State

An excellent way to illustrate one of the evils that accrue to the state from a one-child family is to have two bags, one containing one rough, angular pebble, and the other, several such pebbles. Shake them thoroughly. The one pebble comes out unchanged. The others come out smooth and rounded. So individual peculiarities are rubbed off by the friction of daily life in the large family, and thus children are fitted to work harmoniously with others in the larger social partnership. It is generally the man or woman who grew up in the one-child family, with the unsocialized will, that seeks the divorce court.

The One-child Family

An important phase of the subject of family is that of heredity. While heredity is not now held to be the all-dominant factor that it once was believed to be, it is so powerful an agent that great care should be taken to show the boys and girls, when studying the institution of the family, that all they do and all they are will leave an impression upon their descendants, that their conduct will influence the destiny of their children and their children's children to far generations. They have already become familiar with many of the applications of the maxim, that "no man liveth unto himself" alone. Its application to heredity should be shown, how the manner and habits of the life of the parents determine in advance the essential characteristics of the children—"their features, their constitution, their minds and dispositions." Duty to descendants and to society demands, as Pastor Wagner so truly puts it, "that they never forget that the future springs forth from among them." Tell the children the beautiful story of the life of Pasteur, his home and training, his career of devoted service to mankind, the plebiscite by which the French people almost unanimously declared him to be their greatest man, and the day of jubilee at the Sorbonne, made sacred to the memory of his parents, when he said, "I thank you for what you were." Make the children realize the deep and solemn import of these words. Use current events, history and literature

The Power of Heredity



THE GRANDFATHER.

to reinforce the lesson that the virtues and defects of the parents insure a heritage of good or evil to their descendants—a point too seldom emphasized.

The subject of the family is closely allied with that of social purity. In the chapter devoted to the latter subject, reference is made to the degraded view of the marriage relation frequently held by children. The lessons on the family afford an excellent opportunity to impress the dignity of fatherhood and motherhood, that highest dignity to which humanity can attain; that dignity "whose pure effulgence has its origin from God himself." The correct view of marriage and birth is beautifully put by Pastor Wagner in "The Fireside": "To become a father or mother not simply by instinct or nature, but by liberal consent of soul, to transform into a union of heart and mind the bond of outward fatalities, to ally ourselves with that Purpose which has willed us to owe life to one another, is to live deeply, largely, almost to participate through a new birth in a higher form of life."

The Dignity of Fatherhood and Motherhood

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF CIVIC INSTITUTIONS

Where order in variety we see,
And where, though all things differ, all agree.

—*Pope.*

THE individual must be taught to recognize and value the several important factors in organized society. Following is an outline of such instruction for use in the schools, together with suggestive methods of development:

Grade I:

1. Lamplighter, Garbage Man, Street Sprinkler, Policeman.

2. Duties of Citizens: To refrain from throwing paper, peelings and nut-shells on pavements and from defacing walks, fences and buildings.

3. Current events within their comprehension so discussed "that community problems, honest and brave conduct of citizens and officials and high social ideals of many kinds may be seen and felt in concrete human relations."

4. Birthdays of eminent Americans, and their social service clearly brought out.

Grade II:

1. Postman and Rural Delivery, Contagious Disease Cards, Ambulance and Disinfecting Vans, Engineer and Janitor of School Building.

2. Duties of Citizens: To report immediately contagious diseases. Other duties same as in Grade I.

3. Current events as above.

4. Birthdays as above.

Grade III:

1. Fire Department, Police Department.
2. Duties of Citizens: To be careful in use of matches, kerosene, gasoline, gas, etc.; to be careful in regard to fireworks, bonfires, Christmas decorations; to be cool at panics; to keep fire-escapes clear; to respect the authority of police and to render assistance in maintaining order and detecting and preventing cruel conduct in streets; to abstain from playing ball and throwing stones in streets.
3. As above.
4. As above.

Grade IV:

1. Life-Saving Service, Lighthouse Service, Post Office, Health Department, Parks.
2. Duties of Citizens: To protect park property—flowers, birds, animals, seats, etc.; to keep grass and paths clean of paper, peelings, shells, etc.; to obey health regulations—anti-spitting ordinances, disinfection of houses, quarantine, vaccination, report of contagious diseases, etc.
3. As above.
4. As above.

Grade V:

1. Water System, Sewerage System.
2. Duties of Citizens: Review of duties mentioned in preceding grades.
3. As above.
4. As above.

Grade VI:

1. Building Laws and Regulations so far as they affect a private house or flat; Garbage and Refuse Disposal; Elections—City, County, State, National; Schools.
2. Duties of Citizens: To keep garbage and paper sep-

arate from ashes, to keep garbage vessels covered, not to throw ashes on the street, to keep yards clean, fire-escapes clear, to obey rules and regulations, to adapt schools to needs of community.

3. As above.

4. As above.

Grade VII:

1. Park System, Library System, Local Institutions for Care of the Sick, Insane, Blind, Aged, Orphans, etc.

2. Duties of Citizens: To co-operate in supplying means of culture, development, relief and recreation.

Grade VIII:

Summary of the concrete civics work of the previous grades.

Here are some valuable notes from the Chicago Course in Civics, which may be of use in planning this work:

A. Political Units.—Each of the political units, town, city, state, nation, is a group of people organized to do for the members of that group those kinds of work which all need to have done.

For example, to provide:

1. Protection against fire, personal danger, loss of property, disease, etc.

2. Common care of the sick, poor, orphaned, homeless, insane, etc.

3. Conveniences, such as water, lights, roads, bridges, post offices, lighthouses, etc.

4. Means of development and culture, such as schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, museums, etc.

The study should help the children to realize themselves as members, possible helpful members, of each group that does work for him.

B. General Assumptions:

I. That in teaching each topic the teacher will see to

it that the child has at least a partial realization of four phases of it:

1. Something being done.
2. The people who do the something.
3. The people for whom the something is done.
4. How the something is done now, used to be done or is done elsewhere, ought to be done.

II. That the emphasis upon these different phases will be different in different grades. In the lower grades emphasis may be placed upon the thing done; but who does it, how it is done, and for whom it is done should all be noticed. In the upper grades more and more detail should be included under each heading.

C. Opportunities for Civic and Ethical Teaching:

1. The life of the school as a co-operative community in the school building and in its neighborhood.

2. Those phases of nature study which illustrate co-operation and mutual aid among plants or animals.

3. Geography study of the products of the earth and human labor in such a way that all workers may be seen to be working for each, and each for all.

4. National songs and literature, art, etc., of our own and other lands so used as to increase self-respect and respect for others among different nationalities.

5. Current events so discussed that community problems, honest and brave conduct of citizens and officials, and high social ideas of many kinds may be seen and felt in concrete human relations.

6. Personal co-operation by the teacher with other adult citizens in concrete efforts to better existing social condition. Although such conduct on the part of the teacher as a citizen is not primarily for the purpose of influencing the children to good citizenship, the example cannot help being contagious.

7. In short, in the language of athletics, all possible opportunities must be taken to help the child to realize that he is a member of the various social "teams."

D. Aim of Civic Teaching.—The chief aim is ethical: To create a citizenship that both sees clearly social purposes with the political machinery by which society accomplishes those purposes, and feels deeply social obligations as binding upon conduct.

Amplification of Outline of Instruction

GRADE I

1. The Lamplighter.

A Picturesque Helper

Who he is. What he does. When he does it. Daytime, night, morning, warm weather, cold weather, when he is ill, when he feels like it, etc. How he does it for different kinds of light known to the child. Compare with lighting in the house. Numbers of blocks he travels. How he travels, on foot, on horseback, on a wheel. What need there is for the lights. What persons feel this need. Why they do not light their own street-lamps. Why this particular person lights them. Who lights his light. What we do for the lamplighter. What more we might do for him by helping him keep his lamps clean, unbroken, etc. Talk with, draw pictures of, sing about, tell stories of, play the game of, write stories of. How streets were lighted in the days of our grandfathers, etc.

References—

In Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verses," the poem about the Lamplighter.

Earle's "Home Life in Colonial Days."

2. The Garbage Man.

A Very Necessary Helper

Talk with him. What he does. How he does it. How often he does it. How well. Reason for thinking so. Effect of rain, cold weather, illness, etc., upon his work. What he does with the garbage. For whom he does his work. Who does a similar work for him. Why he works for us. What we do and may do for him. Connection between his work and the work that is done in our homes, in school, etc. Draw pictures of, tell and write stories of, etc.

References—

Reports of Street-Cleaning Department.

3. The Street Sprinkler.

What he does. When he does it. How he does it. Talk with him about his work, his horses, his sprinkling-wagon. Where he gets the water. The number and location of streets he sprinkles. How he controls the flow of water. The use to us of sprinkled streets. How dust is death-dealing and disease-spreading. Why we do not sprinkle the streets ourselves. Who sprinkles the streets where he lives. Why he sprinkles our streets. What we do for him and what we may do. All ways practically possible of making his work understood as a social function.

Street Sprinkling as a Social Function

4. The Policeman.

What he does, especially the duties that will appeal to the child as positive in contrast with the negative functions of keeping children from doing the things that they want to do. For example, helping women and children across crowded streets; helping lost children to find their homes; helping persons who are injured at fires, in times of accident, etc. The preventive work of the policeman from the side of its protection to property and human life instead of from the side of the person who is forbidden to do something that he wants to do. The continual watchfulness of the policeman by night, by day, in time of storm and cold, in loneliness and weariness, etc. His uniform, what it means, what certain stripes, buttons, and colors mean. The patrol box, what it is for. The patrol wagon and its uses. Development of appreciation that we have always at our call such strong, watchful and well-equipped helpers. What we do and may do for the policeman. Talk with the policeman, tell stories of his work, bravery, etc., draw pictures of, sing about, play games of, begin to understand his genuinely social functions in their simpler forms. Show the importance of the traffic squad, their responsibilities, signals at crossings.

The Protector of the Community

GRADE II

1. The Postman.

Talk with him. When he comes. How often he comes. What he brings. Where these come from. How our letters are taken away from the place where we put them. Usefulness to us of these functions. Visit a sub-postal station or post office and have the work simply explained, just the externals. The home of the postman. Why he carries our letters. What we do and may do for him. Pictures of, songs about, stories of, games of. All practicable ways of making his function understood in its simplest particulars.

The Boys in Grey

References—

"Outlook," Vol. 75.

"World's Work," Vol. 5.

2. Contagious Disease Card.

(If children have not seen such cards, omit.) Where they are put; what they mean; how we act when we see them on a house. The kindness of those who thus give others warning of danger. Comparison with persons who give warning to a railroad engineer of a broken bridge, a watchman who gives warning of a fire, a sentinel who gives warning of the approach of the enemy, etc. Development of ideas of children about those who fail to give warning of any danger they know to be approaching. What we may do for others and others may do for us by means of the contagious disease cards.

How the Community Fights Disease

3. Ambulance and Disinfecting Vans.

(Do not study unless children have seen them.) How they look. What each is used for. Who has charge of each. Under what conditions they come to our neighborhood. In the case of the disinfecting van a description of the way it works. Why this work is done; connect with the idea of the contagious disease cards and the necessity of preventing danger as well as giving warning of it after it exists. Who provides these helps for us. (Complete study not necessary in this grade, possibly

only the fact that they are provided and can be used by us when needed.) What we do and may do in return.

4. The Engineer and Janitor of the School Building.

Just what each does; when he does it, and why he does it. What the importance of his work is to us. How we may make his work more successful. What the relation is between his work and that of a garbage man. Why we have a janitor and engineer. Home conditions under which we have janitors and engineers. Bring out the idea of numbers and co-operation as affecting this social function, also the proper relation between the care of rooms, building, etc., by teacher and pupils and the care of them by the janitor and engineer. Some children have the idea that because there is a janitor to clean the building, they may litter it up as they please. There is no more effective place for the teaching of correct civic ideals and conduct than in just those places where the child himself comes in contact with public servants and their services, with property that is socially or publicly owned, etc. Clear ideals of positive co-operation with teacher, engineer, and janitor, followed by habitual action in harmony with those ideals, should be the aim.

Opportunity for Teaching Correct Civic Conduct

GRADE III

1. The Fire Department.

a. In General.

Here a genuine beginning can be made in the study of social organization. In this connection, if the children get the idea that the organization of the fire department is wholly determined by the work it has to do and that the only right basis for choosing men to act as firemen is their ability to put out fires, they have in a concrete form an ideal that will help to make them enemies of spoils politics in any form.

Beginning the Study of Social Organization

One aim of the study should be to show that the community is constantly improving on the ways to fight fire, and that citizens are fighting their own fires just as

truly as their ancestors did with their buckets, and that it is in their power to change the machinery and the methods of fighting fire whenever they can discover better machinery or a better way.

The fact of our payment of money, although not the details of the manner of that payment, to the firemen in return for the faithful service they render us should also be distinctly understood. It is not hard for a child to understand that, if a man gives up all his time to fighting fire, he cannot be looking after his own family at the same time, and, therefore, that we whom he serves should somehow see that his family are taken care of. There is no better material of any kind for the purpose of developing in the child high ideals of bravery and faithful performance of duty than in a study of our modern city firemen. Heroism did not perish from the earth when knighthood was no more.

Developing Ideals of Bravery and Faithfulness

b. Visit to a Fire Station.

Talk with the men. Ask them to explain all about the building, equipment, horses, etc. See the beds. Slide down the poles. See the boots and clothes of the men and have them explain what they do in case an alarm of fire sounds while they are asleep. See the horses and learn their names. Find out what they do when an alarm of fire is sounded. Ask the men how the horses are trained to do their work so well. See the way the steam is kept up in the boiler so as to be ready when an alarm sounds. Find out when the fire is lighted under the engine itself. Ask to have explained the method of receiving an alarm of fire. Ask explanation of the way to send an alarm of fire. Have each child find out where the nearest alarm box to his own house is. Find out where two or three others near by are and what other ways than by these boxes an alarm of fire can be given? Have children tell stories of the bravery of firemen. Their methods of fighting fire, tearing down buildings, rescuing persons from burning buildings. Use of ladders, nets,

Studying Details of the Service

A FIRE IN CHICAGO.

fire-escapes. Study of the clothing of firemen, their helmets, coats; how long they are on duty. Draw pictures of firemen, horses, engines, apparatus, burning buildings, homes of firemen, clothing, anything of interest to the child in connection with the work of putting out fires. Sing songs of firemen, play games of firemen, etc.

c. Study of Organization of the Department so far as the Children Can Understand It.

What the names of the different officers seen at the station are, that is, their official names. How many of them. Just what the work of each is with reference to the others. How they know what each is to do. When more than one company is at a fire, how they all know what to do. How it is known how many companies will go to a fire. What would be done if an alarm of fire should be sent into a station when the company is away. What is done when a fire is put out and the company has got back to the station. Why is there need of any organization at all. What kind of men make the best firemen. How they get their positions, how long they work, how they are promoted, etc. How much pay they get and where they get it. The uniform of the officers.

Show the Necessity for Organization

d. Different Ways of Fighting Fire.

Visit a fireboat if there is one. Number of engines, men, horses, hook and ladder companies, etc. Any other means of fighting fire known to the children. Hand grenades, chemical engines, pipes built along large buildings, pipes (perforated) along the top and sides of buildings, hose inside buildings, etc. Fire-escapes, what they are for, how used, on what kind of buildings required, different kinds, the best kind, etc.

e. History of the Fire Fighting of the Community.

Days of the leathern bucket, wells with each house, public well, lines of men from water supply to fire passing buckets of water. Stories of the way fire is now fought in small villages and on farms. Precautions against fire in early days. No matches, and fire carried from one

house to another in form of coals. Law against stove-pipes going out through a wall or roof of house, unless protected by sheet iron. The fire engines manned by volunteer firemen. How drawn to a fire, how worked, time required to get to a fire in comparison with the present time. Bring out facts that the firemen worked at their own occupations and fought fire besides. Necessity for all persons helping as much as possible. Describe the contests between different companies on the Fourth of July and other public occasions. Beginning of use of horses to draw engines to the fire. Stabling horses away from the place where engine was kept and loss of time thus caused. Beginning of use of steam engines. Growth of cities and growing demands upon firemen. Separation from other work of a group of men to do nothing else but fight fire. Effect of this on the efficiency of the men. How it affected the rest of the people in the city as to their usefulness at a fire. Methods of giving an alarm of fire. Shouting, signaling from the top of a building, ringing of bells, electric, etc. How a fire can be located in one or other direction by the ringing of bells or blowing of whistles. The size of town in which such methods of alarm would be effective. Improvements possible, from child's thought.

Fire-fighting of the Past

References—

Hill's "Fighting Fire."

"Century," Vol. 33.

Local Statistics (number of fires, losses, etc.).

2. Police Department.

With special reference to organization, methods of improved service, pay, etc.

GRADE IV

1. Life-Saving Service. (To be used only if the children are acquainted with it.)

a. A Life-Saving Station.

The boat, how it is constructed, how it is launched, the

oars, the places of the men in the boat, what happens when it tips over. The equipment of the boat and the purpose of it all. Other boats and other equipment of the station and purpose of all. The quarters of the men, how long they are on duty, what their duties are. The watch tower, its purpose and method of calling men to duty if there is need of help. The kinds of need that call out the crew. If possible see a drill of the crew. The method of saving persons on a wreck by means of the breeches buoy. By means of the life car. How the line is shot out over the wreck. How directions are given to the wrecked persons. The conditions under which various means of rescue are employed. The patrol of the shore. Comparison with the patrol of a city by a policeman. Comparison with a sentinel watching over a sleeping army. What is done with an unfaithful or sleepy sentinel in an army. Kind of men required to be sentinels of peace. How these men get their places, how promoted, how paid. Whether they are paid by one city, one state, or by the nation. Why? How many persons in the whole country are likely to benefit by the work of the men in the station. Who then should contribute to their support. Why? Develop the idea of other stations at different points along the Great Lakes. Think also of the Pacific coast and the Atlantic coast and of their needs. What arrangements for saving of life are to be found on these shores. Develop the idea of the need of some management that would include all of these stations, and that a sufficient number to pay for them should include all of us who might by any possibility be benefited by their service. Connect this group of people with the people of the United States, and at least mention the fact that the persons whom we choose to look after matters that concern all of us in the United States are called Congressmen, and that, when they get together to make plans for the good of all of us, the meeting is called Congress. The President works with these men for the good of all of us.

How Perils by Water Are Fought

For the Good of All of Us

Tell stories of brave conduct of men in life-saving stations, of men and women saved by them. Write tales of your own, sing songs, draw pictures of all phases of the work, the station, the boat, patrolling the shore, shooting the life line, bringing persons in on the life cars, etc. Dwell upon the work in many ways until the realization grows of the whole service as a social service of one group of men to other groups, until ideals of the kind of men required are formed, and until the obligation of a return service in the form of money and care sufficient to provide for the families of the life-savers is also well developed. The details of the process of national taxation and legislation for this purpose should not here be given, but at least enough of the national organization to make clear to the children that an organization exists and that it would be used in a case like the one studied.

Life-saving as a Social Service

b. Lighthouses.

Gather experiences of class about lighthouses they have seen. What use they are to boats. How the sailors know each light and at what place a certain light is seen. Different colored lights how made. Revolving lights how made. Study in cyclopedias the subject of lighthouses and find out how some of them have been built on reefs, promontories, on foundations below the water, etc. Find out the history of lighthouses and the progress that has been made in building and equipping them. Read stories of lighthouses in magazines. (Use "Reader's Guide.") Who keep the lighthouses, how supplies are carried to them, how often they see visitors, the monotony and responsibilities of their work, how they get their places, how long they serve, who pays them and why. All the details necessary to develop in the children the realization of their work and the kind of bravery and faithfulness required to do the work well. Compare with policemen, firemen, life-savers, janitors, postmen, garbage men, children as regards the performance of the tasks that belong to them.

A Valuable Public Service and Brave Public Servants

c. Bell-Buoys, Fog-Whistles, Methods of Signaling, Lights on Boats, etc.

Gather from those children who have been on boats, as much as they know about such subjects as head this paragraph. What is done by each contrivance, who does it, at whose expense, whom it benefits, etc. How the red and green lights of a boat are placed and why. Who makes the regulations, each captain, the captain on one lake, the captains on all the lakes, or on all waters? Reason for co-operation in such a matter. Suppose there were different rules on each of the Great Lakes. Compare all of these means of giving warning, signaling, and saving life with what Columbus and the early explorers of this country had to help them.

Need for Uniformity of Rules

Study the cyclopedia for evidence that other nations join with the United States in any of these matters. Reason for this joining with others.

What improvements can the children suggest in present ways of doing.

d. Method of Signaling and Saving Human Life on the Railways. (May be omitted, or may be more simply treated.)

Gather all the children know about the methods of running trains by signals of lights and colored flags or signs. Find out who makes these rules and of what use they are. What kind of an examination men who work moving trains have to take. Read the ordinances of the city with reference to running of trains. Why are such rules made? Who made them? In what way can they be changed if not satisfactory? Who is judge if they are or are not satisfactory?

Rules of the Railroad for Safety

Compare with these facts about railroads the known facts about the running of street railways in such a way as to protect human life. Are these precautions successful in saving human life? How do you know? (Newspapers, and reports of coroner.)

Compare also the facts known by the children about

the elevation of the railroad tracks in the city or at grade crossings. Read the ordinances of the city on this subject. Is it unjust to make men pay out so much money to save human life? In general, build up in the child's mind the standard that human life ought to be saved at any cost of mere money or property. Also bring out the fact of necessary co-operation among the men of a certain business, and often of the co-operation of many men in the city outside of the special business, for the purpose of saving human life. Very brief study of the city council as composed of aldermen and mayor elected by the voters for the purpose, among others, of making and enforcing rules for the saving of human life. Bring out the idea that if life is not sufficiently well protected now on steam or trolley lines, any man who knows this can use his influence to get more rigid rules passed. In other words, that we have such regulations as we as citizens and voters unitedly demand.

Show the Responsibility of the Voter

References—

"Harper's," Vols. 48 and 64—"Lighthouses of the United States," and "Life-Saving Service of the United States."

"Century," Vols. 55 and 58—"Heroes of Peace."

"Chautauquan," August, 1900—"Lighthouses."

"Scribner's," Vol. 20—"From Light to Light" (Vivid account of lighthouse service.)

2. Post Office.

Extend the study to the organization in the city and in the nation, to the history of the modes of carrying and distributing the mail, to the mode and usefulness of rural delivery, to the improvement in service, to parcel post, etc. Bring out clearly the concrete social good wrought so that the children understand that the political machinery is merely a means and not an end.

Political Machinery a Means Not an End

References—

"Outlook," Vol. 75.

"World's Work," Vol. 5.

UNITED STATES LIFE-SAVING CREW.

3. The Park.

When we went to the park. Who went with us. What we saw. What we did. What the flowers were for, why each child could not pick them. What kind of games we saw going on there. Who could play them; under what conditions. What we did with the remnants of our luncheon, the papers, etc. What men we saw taking care of the park. What they were doing. For whom they were doing the work. Why policemen are necessary. If everyone used the flowers, trees, benches, etc., as he should, would the police be necessary? Why? What we did to make the park a joy to others. What we failed to do. How it is possible to have parks for all of us (merely the idea of co-operation, no complex details).

Policemen in Parks

GRADE V

The work here outlined in detail is all connected with the problems dealing with a healthful, kindly and beautiful city life. If the children are to become the strong, helpful and beauty-loving men and women they ought to be, they cannot become interested too early in the many-sided problems of their city housekeeping. In this and following grades more of the civic machinery, the political organization, by means of which the community are trying to do the work under consideration, may be studied. But mere names of officers, dates of election, salaries, laws, constitutions, etc., should never be assigned to children who have not clearly in mind the concrete forms of social good that all such political officials and machinery ought to bring about. Political machinery ought first to be understood to be merely a means and not an end.

Fostering an Interest in City Housekeeping

1. Water System.

a. Water Pipes.

Have each child learn to trace the water from the faucet in his own house to the street, and then along the street until it turns into another street, and so on until

the pumping station that supplies it is reached. (This information can be gathered partly from the children themselves, partly from their parents and other children, and partly from plumbers in the neighborhood.) The idea of pipes increasing in size from his house to the pumping station, and the reason for this in the fact that a large pipe as it leaves the station subdivides so as to furnish water to very many houses, should be clear. Learn something about these pipes and the actual number of houses that can be supplied by pipes of different sizes. Visit a pumping station if it is a possible thing. If not possible to go as a class, ask for some boys and girls to volunteer to go and bring back a report to the class of what they see and learn. Make a map of the houses and water pipes in a group of at least four blocks.

From Faucet to Pumping Station

b. Visit to a Pumping Station.

Description of the building as the children see it. Its size. What is going on. What machinery they see. What it is for. What the capacity of each engine and all the engines is. How the water is supplied to the engines. How it is sent out into the city. How many men are on duty. What each is doing. How long they work. How long during the twenty-four hours men are on duty at this station. Why they have to be on duty so long. What the effect of hot weather is upon their work. Of cold weather. How the fires are kept going. How much coal is used in a day, in a year. What devices, if any, are used to prevent smoke. What happens in case of fire. How the engineer is in communication with other pumping stations and the fire stations, etc.

Devices Used in Supplying Water

c. Sources of Supply.

If the water is obtained from a crib in a lake, the school should either visit it or get a description, from some member of the school or someone in the neighborhood, of its construction and connection with the water tunnels, of its housekeeping arrangements, and any other uses of the crib, of the men living there, etc. How their work is

affected by storm, cold weather, darkness, loneliness. Compare their work with that of policemen, firemen, etc. What kind of men are needed.

If the water is obtained from a reservoir, this should be visited by the school and a study made of its construction and source of supply. Let children imagine the course of a drop of water all the way from the crib or reservoir until it comes out of the faucet at their own homes.

d. The City Water System as a Whole.

(If this work is mathematically too hard find some other way of making the magnitude of the system felt.)

Find out how many other pumping stations than the one visited there are in the city. Locate them on the map. Find out their capacity in comparison with the one visited. Compute the number of cubic feet of water pumped by them in one twenty-four hours and build this into a cube for comparison with some buildings that you know the dimensions of or can measure. Devise other ways to represent the magnitude of the work done daily and yearly by the water system as a whole, or by the part of the system that supplies the homes of the children. How are the different pumping stations connected with each other? What advantage is this in case of a fire? Make a map of the water system of the city showing all the pumping stations and giving an idea of the distribution pipes leading out from each station and connected with each other. What effect would this connection of all the parts of the water system have upon the danger to health of the people, if one or more of the parts were supplied with impure water? Begin to keep a record of the reports of condition of the city water published daily in the newspapers. Keep this record for at least one month to determine which one of the parts of the system was reported to have pure water the greatest percentage of time. Which one the smallest percentage, and trace the cause of impurity if possible.

The Magnitude of a City Water System

Find out how this report gets into the papers. Who

makes the analysis. Where it is made. Why it is made, who is responsible for its accuracy.

e. The Evolution of the City Water System.

The period of dipping water from the river and the lake. Private wells. A public well. Dangers and inadequacies of these sources as city grew, in times of fire, etc. The period of the first company. What devices it put into operation to furnish more and better water. Location of works. Kind of pipes. City not all supplied. Danger from contagious diseases to those not supplied. Trouble of keeping source of supply clear of filth. Danger of pollution as city grew in size or population of district surrounding source. Possible methods of improvement of the supply. (Let children invent and suggest all the ways they can think of before looking up the record, but be sure to correct their suggestions by a final appeal to the facts.) Study in detail of the local steps in the changes to a larger and better water supply. Ceremonies of finishing any important change or extension. Speeches, holiday, crowds, etc. How were extensions paid for? Early rates for water in comparison with what is paid now. How people were led to work together to improve and extend system. Why they could not have done so well acting as separate families. Clear sight of the fact that there was no more money to be put into the new systems, than the people paid in rates, paid in some other way, or promised to pay those from whom they borrowed it. In other words, emphasize the fact and manner of co-operation in it all. Each community has only what it plans for and promises to pay for. Reasons for the growing inadequacy of each new system as the city grows. (Excellent hints for the study of each part of the city's system can be obtained from the Outline for Teaching Civics issued by the Chicago Normal School for the use of Chicago schools.)

Another Way to Show the Advantages of Co-operation

f. Filtration Plant.

Pollution of sources of supply. Dangers of contagious

diseases. Local methods of purifying the water studied in detail. How done at other places. Local necessity. Suggestions from children. Why not purified by each family. Necessity of co-operation.

g. How the Water System is Managed.

How we obtain our water supply by working in common instead of each man for himself.

(See list of men and positions in connection with the water system in the annual appropriation bill of the City Council.) Relation to ourselves of the Mayor, the Aldermen, the Civil Service Commission, the Commissioner of Public Works, and the relation of each of these to the various bureaus and divisions of the Water Department. Show how we, as we are those who pay for it, can in reality control the whole system as we desire. Be sure that the study of city government is carried far enough so that the children really feel that it is intended to be, in relation to the water supply, just a means of deciding upon the policy we want to pursue, and of devising methods for carrying out this policy.

Details of the Service

Find out how much money is received by the department in one year from the consumers of water. Devise some means for comparing this sum of money with the income of some men who are known to the class, or with a certain definite sum of money. For example, how many houses at $5,000 each would this sum of money build? If each be placed in a fifty-foot lot, how many rods of street would these houses line on both sides? Is it a difficult thing to get one such house built well? Have children give actual experience of which they have heard. What kind of men we ought to choose to take charge of the collection and expenditure of such a sum as we pay for water.

Responsibility of Choosing Officials of Water Department

Compare the qualities needed in these men with the qualities required for police, firemen, sentinels, janitors, and other positions in which the children themselves are personally interested, such as housekeepers, assistants to

the teacher, librarians, marshals, etc. What shall we think of a man who goes into the work of the Water Department for the pay it will give and not for the good work he is fitted to do in the place? How can such men be kept out of such places? What can we do about it? What kind of persons do we choose to do the room and school work for us? The waste of water—find out how extensive it is thought by city authorities to be. What are some of the reasons for this waste? What it means to us who pay for the waste in money loss. How it can be prevented. Effect on this problem of putting a meter in every house and requiring pay for water on the basis of the amount actually used. Why not put them in, etc. Maps, diagrams, pictures, models, constructive or written work of any sort that the children can do to make the system and its use plainer to the children. What suggestions can they make for improving the system?

A Water Meter in Every House

References—

Reports of Local Boards.

2. House Drainage.

a. Pipes.

Have each child trace the water that runs from his own house until it reaches the street, the next street, etc., until it is finally disposed of. Here again, as in case of water pipes, think of the pipes as gradually growing larger as they are farther from the house. Reason for this. Find out the actual size of some of the pipes. What they are made of. How they differ from water pipes that bring pure water. Is there danger connected with the disposal of impure water that is not found with reference to the pure water. What is it? How is it guarded against? Have a plumber explain the use of all the pipes that can be seen as they are being put into a new house in process of construction. Make models of these pipes in clay or draw models of them upon the board. Draw a section of a house that will show all the sewer pipes in connection with the house. Find the meaning of trap, soil

Studying Disposal of Waste

pipe, vent, catch basin, fixture. Find out how to test a house for sewer gas, by the peppermint test, the water test. How often should the catch basin be cleaned out? How can it be done? What is the need of cleaning it? Why is not the kitchen connected directly with the sewer? Make a diagram of the sewer pipes in at least four blocks of houses. Locate all the houses and the catch basins, etc. What is the use of studying all these things?

b. Sewers.

If not already studied in connection with geography, study the physiography of the locality and its environs. Model the region in sand or clay and draw with chalk upon the board so as to show the natural slopes for drainage.

Imagine conditions when there were only a few settlers. What was done with waste water from houses? What became of water from heavy storms of rain or snow? First efforts to improve drainage conditions. Open ditches and gutters. First sewers made of what? First brick sewers when? How large? Where do sewers empty? Study sewer maps issued by local department of public works. Do sewers empty anywhere near a source of water supply? What is the danger of sewage fouling the water supply of your own or neighboring city? If an artificial system is employed on account of the level nature of the ground, describe purpose and magnitude of sewerage pumping works. Study of local complications of drainage system and water system, especially in lake towns.

Evolution of the Sewer

Have children make plans for the further improvement of the sewerage systems of the city from the point of view of saving the lives of people. Visit during this study the place where some intercepting sewer, or some sewerage works of some other kind, are in process of construction, if possible. If it is not possible, make use of all the experience and observation the members of the class have had.

Make models in clay, wood and sand of different features studied. Draw or illustrate in any way most in command of the children all points capable of illustration, so that the system may be understood as a work devised to meet a human need and carried out by co-operation of the people concerned.

The Sewerage System and Co-operation

Study the management of the sewerage system far enough to see that we, as a people, have the matter finally in our own hands. Relation of ourselves to the Mayor, Aldermen, Civil Service Commission, Commissioner of Public Works, Bureau of Sewers, etc. How sewers have been paid for. Some computations and comparisons that will make these figures mean something to the children. The kind of men we need to take charge of such large expenditures for us. Compare with men before studied, firemen, police, life-savers, persons of all sorts who work for the good of others. What can we do to avail ourselves more perfectly of the sewerage and water systems that have cost us so much?

GRADE VI

1. Building Laws and Regulations so far as they affect a private house or flat.

Showing Necessity for Such Laws

Gather what the children know about the procedure in building a house or flat. Location of the house with reference to the street, neighbors, etc. Materials to be used in building. Can a man do just as he pleases in these things? Why? How is he limited? What about his plans? Are they just as he chooses? Who looks them over and why? Plumbing, laundry tubs, etc., just what he himself might want to put in? Why not? Precautions against fire, fire-escapes, etc. Under what conditions they need to be put on. Why? Study this subject far enough to give children the idea that here also there is need for and the fact of co-operation in their city, and to give them a little idea of the way that we have ourselves to attend to this work. The kind of men we

need to look after this work for us and how we get them into their positions, how we pay them, etc. Give children the idea of a beautiful street, which is wide and where the building line is observed; also the opposite idea, so as to help them to see clearly that one man cannot build a house merely to suit himself, without reference to the neighboring houses, or, to put it the other way, that one man can, with his one building, spoil the beauty of a whole street.

References—

The Local Building Ordinances.

2. Garbage and Refuse Disposal.

What is done with the garbage from the houses in your neighborhood? Who does it? Describe equipment necessary. Talk with garbage men and go if possible to the place where it is deposited. Make sketches or take photographs of the place. What is the effect on the comfort and health of those who live near the dump? How often is the garbage collected from your house? Why is it collected at all? When collected why not dump it in vacant lots near your home? Who determines this? What is done with it in other cities? Have we any other ways of disposing of it than to dump it? Locate and describe these other plants. Ask the garbage man what things the householders can do to make his work easier. Separation of ashes from garbage, paper, etc. Could we do these things? Would they cost us much time and effort? Why not do them? How these men are paid. How they get their places. In what esteem are they held? In what esteem is a physician who heals the body held? Is not the service of cleansing the city where millions dwell as honorable as to heal a few sick persons? Carry the study of the appointment and pay far enough to be sure that the children see the work of garbage collection in the light of a co-operative enterprise that we, the people of the city, are carrying on as we see fit. What changes in the garbage collection of the city can the children sug-

Details of a Homely But Important Public Service

gest? What are the difficulties in the way of carrying out these suggestions? How can we meet these difficulties?

References—

"Scribner's," Feb., 1903.

"Outlook," Vol. 62.

Local Statistics.

3. Elections—City, County, State, National.

In this and the following grades when elections draw near, attention should be given to them and the forms of government of the city, county, state and nation. If the concrete civic exercises for the previous grades have been studied in the way suggested, this study of the *forms* of government should connect itself easily in the child's mind with many kinds of work which these governments have to do. Officers, elections, laws, etc., should be clearly understood as means by which citizens do cooperatively the things they need to have done. In other words, in the study of civic machinery, the child should never lose sight of the work that the machinery has to do. To this end, schools, parks, playgrounds, and libraries are suggested for study in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, if time permits. The child's attitude toward citizenship is more important than mere knowledge about citizenship.

The Child's Attitude Toward Citizenship

4. Schools.

a. What They Do.

Bring to the consciousness of the children the possibilities of education for them within the limits of the school system of their city—Kindergarten, Primary and Grammar, High, Manual Training, Domestic Science, Normal, Evening Schools, Vacation Schools, Schools for Deaf and Blind, etc. For what kinds of occupation a person can get the whole or a large part of his preparation in these schools. Different kinds of equipment, kinds of school buildings. Get a map of their distribution over the city. Think of the singing, manual training, drawing, physical

training and all the ordinary subjects taught in the public schools in so many parts of the city.

b. For Whom They Are.

How many children in the school where you are? How many times this number in all the schools of the city? How large an army would this make? How long if they march four, eight or sixteen abreast, would it take for them to march by a given spot? How many passenger trains would it require to carry them all on an excursion in one day? Any other way to make the children realize the magnitude of the school work of their city. How many years an individual may go to school.

Magnitude of School Work of a City or County

c. How They Do Their Work.

Study the buildings as above. Visit or inquire about the supply house or room and get an idea of the magnitude of the supplies required. Find out the number of janitors and engineers at work in all the school buildings. Get the number of teachers and other persons connected with the system, and devise some way for children to realize their number. Find out how these forces of educational and business workers are organized to work efficiently. How each group of workers get their places. How much money it takes to pay them for one day, for one week, for one month, for one year. How we get the money: assessment of property, appropriation of a lump sum by the Board of Education and the City Council, computation of the rate of school tax that each dollar has to pay. The collection of this money from those whose property is assessed. Who keeps this money and who pays it out? Does a man who has no house of his own pay any of this tax for the education of children of the city? Would his rent be raised or lowered if the owner of the house had no taxes to pay on the house? Was your first answer right about the payment of a man who lives in a rented house? What makes you think so? What is your relation to the men who make the assessment of property? To the City Council, who levy a sum of money

Details of Public Service for Education

for the purpose of schools? To the Board of Education, who calculate how much money we will need for our schools and who have charge of the expenditure of the money when it has been collected? What is our relation to the Superintendent who directs the educational work of the schools? What is our relation to the Mayor and his relation to the conduct of our schools? Do we have in the city such schools as the people really want, that is, can we have just such schools as those who pay for them choose to have? Suppose they were not such as the people really want, how long would it take to get them changed if they set about it? Is there any trouble in agreeing among so many just what kind of schools we want? If we cannot agree or do not feel ourselves competent to decide about so important a matter, what kind of men should be chosen to take care of the schools for us? Compare the men whom we need to run our schools with those required for police, for firemen, for life-savers, for janitors, for garbage collectors, for engineers, for any offices where men are serving others. In what respects are the qualifications for all these places alike? How much care should be taken in selecting men to collect and spend our money?

Duty of Voters in Connection with Schools

d. Who Really Run Them.

Pursue the line of thinking and discussion of the preceding paragraph, until the children understand clearly that we manage our schools in a co-operative way, instead of each family looking out for the education of its own children by itself. A history of the schools very briefly given would perhaps bring out this thought more clearly. The early reports of the Superintendent of the Board of Education will show that at first education was looked after by private families in their own homes, then some man or woman started a school in a home or church and charged tuition to those children who came. It has been generally a long slow process to develop a regular system of co-operation for the maintenance of schools for

Give a Brief History of the Schools

all children of the city. The various kinds of work now done in the schools were introduced slowly one after the other. Kindergartens, manual training, drawing, music, schools for the blind and crippled, etc., are very recent or have not even yet become established. Lead the children to see the incomplete condition of many phases of our school work, and let them decide who is really to determine whether they be further developed, or be allowed to grow more ineffective as co-operative schools than they are now. Tell what the German people do co-operatively for the training of their children. Let children offer some suggestions for making their own school better in the future. Lead them to realize that it will depend on them partly as students, and partly as citizens, whether or not their own suggestions are carried out in the near future.

Fixing the Responsibility for the Schools

References—

Annual Reports of the Superintendent and Board of Education.

GRADE VII

1. Playgrounds.

What playgrounds are accessible to children? On what conditions? What kind of games can be played on these playgrounds? Under whose direction? With what equipment? Who makes the regulations? Why are they made? Do they work well? Who appoints the men and women who have charge of the playgrounds, what are they paid, how long are they on duty each day, what kind of qualifications must they have, how do they get their positions? Trace out the relation of the children and their parents to the problem of the appointment and support of the keepers of these playgrounds, and to the problem of the expense incurred in establishing them and keeping up their equipment. What good do they do? How is it done? For whom is it done? Who does it? What suggestions can the children make for performing this social function in a better manner? Have them out-

An Important Social Function

line some of the steps that would have to be actually taken before these suggestions could be carried out. If a suggestion of some value is made, let them actually undertake to get it carried out. (A little actual experience in a co-operative effort of this sort will be worth more to the children than a great deal of mere talk about getting it done.) In studying how the playground is supported it may be that some of the machinery of the Board of Education will be studied. In other cases a private organization may be the form of co-operation that runs the particular playground known to the children. In another case it may be one of the Park Boards. In any case some form of social machinery will have come distinctly to the attention of the children in connection with the special social work that this machinery was designed to do.

2. Parks.

Studying a Form of Social Machinery

Study some special park that the children are familiar with, in a similar manner. What are the kinds of fun that children and older people can have in this park? What are the conditions under which these kinds of enjoyment can be taken? Who makes these rules? Who supports the parks and how is the money collected? What is the relation of the child and his parents to the expenditure and management of the parks, etc.?

References—

"Outlook," Vol. 62, 798-801.

"Charities Review," Vol. 6, 176-182.

3. Libraries.

Have the children describe their experiences in getting books from the public library, both from the main building and from one of the substations. Have the other possibilities of the library, its reading rooms, reference rooms, and stations in school buildings explained, so far as they know them or can find out about them. Study in some detail the ways in which the different functions of the library are performed. Make a special visit to the library as a class, or send some member of the class to

A PUBLIC PLAYGROUND.

make a special visit, to study the building itself and the magnitude of the work carried on within it. Find out some facts as to the number of the books and pamphlets in the library. Their value. The number added each year and their cost. The number of books, pamphlets, etc., used during one year. The number of persons who make use of the library. Try to make these large figures mean something to the children by comparison with some numbers and groups that can be understood. Try to have children realize how much the service which many a person gets out of the library would have cost him if he had bought all the books and pamphlets consulted. Find out how much the library has cost for one year and compute how much this is for each person in the city, for each user of the library, etc. Who really pays for the library? Trace the process by which we contribute to the support of the library. In what respect is it like and in what respects different from the process by which we contribute to the support of schools, police, firemen, etc.? Trace out also the process by which we choose men and women to serve us as librarians and attendants. How is the process like and how different from the process by which we choose our school teachers, firemen, police, etc.

Details of Library Service

Summarize the work done by the library, for whom it is done, who really does it, and how it is done.

Study the libraries of other cities for comparison. If there is more than one library, compare their work. How do they divide among them the work of serving the public with books? Contrast methods of their support. Have children make suggestions for the more efficient management of the library. Let these suggestions consider the problem of the children, of the schools and of the people in their homes. Say something about the Booklovers' Library and the Tabard Inn and bring out reasons for their growth. Can we make the public library good enough to make the need for private libraries such as the above unnecessary?

Comparison of Libraries

References—

Annual Report of Library.

"Reader's Guide," for articles on libraries of other cities.

GRADE VIII

Summary of the concrete civic work of the previous grades.

Such a summary may profitably be made in some such way as the following:

1. Protection—

a. The kinds of protection that the children know are furnished to them by the community against robbery, fire, disease, foreign nations, etc.

b. How this is furnished by firemen, policemen, health officers of the city; sheriff, hospital, courts, etc., of county; board of health, militia, etc., of State; national quarantine officers, the army and navy of the United States, the life-saving service, etc.

c. A clear conception and statement of the fact that to secure protection for them and other citizens all the machinery of all the political units is in constant use.

2. Conveniences—

The same may be done in connection with conveniences —roads, postal system, recording of deeds, forestry, weather bureau. The citizens work sometimes through city organization, sometimes through county, sometimes through state, and sometimes through national bodies, to procure for themselves certain conveniences known to the children.

3. Philanthropy—

Give the same conception of the ways taken to care for our poor, insane, disabled soldiers, sailors, etc.

4. Development—

The means by which we establish schools, universities, libraries, parks, playgrounds, museums, and other aids to culture and development, will also be seen to range from local to national instrumentalities, all at work, each

in its own sphere, for the benefit of the citizens who keep these arms of the government in motion by their public opinion and votes, and support them by their taxes.

We, the people of ———————— do all these things for ourselves. Thereby we receive divers benefits unattainable by the individual by himself. What is my place in this doing as well as in this receiving?

The Pertinent Question

The teaching outlined in this chapter will be more and more the teaching of the future, in both school and home. Hitherto the emphasis has been laid too much upon the child as an individual, his personal career and success, and too little, far too little, upon his responsibilities and privileges as a social being, as a member of the community and the state.

CHAPTER III

NATION OR COUNTRY

A nation's character is the sum of its splendid deeds; they constitute one common patrimony, the nation's inheritance.

—*Henry Clay.*

SOCIAL effort reaches its climax in the form and life of the nation, and the constituent unit of the nation is the family. As a city is built up of houses, a nation is built up of families. It is a large group of people occupying permamently the same territory, changing somewhat from generation to generation as it takes on new responsibilities, but remaining an unbroken fellowship. It is marked by the unity of a common life—the same language, the same customs and traditions, the same love of a common past. Unity of political life does not always constitute a nation. Conquest, or necessity of union for protection against a common foe, may bring nations into political unity. Austria and Hungary form one nation in political union, but remain separate nations, as did Norway and Sweden when politically united.

A Nation Is More Than Political Unity

The nation is a unit and not merely the sum of the families composing it. It is a unit with its own spirit, the national spirit, its own opinion, public opinion, its own interest, the public good. To help the children to grasp the distinction between the unity of the nation and the sum of the families, compare the nation to an oil painting, which is not a mere aggregation of oils and colors; to a statue, which is not a mere combination of marble particles; to a house, whose nature cannot be told by the individual bricks composing it.

A Unit in Interest, Opinion and Spirit

Just as the interests of the family are unlike those of

the individuals composing it, so the interests of the nation are unlike those of its constituent elements. It may be to the interest of an individual to use child labor in his factory, but it is contrary to the interest of the nation. It may be to the interest of a strawboard factory to throw refuse into an adjacent stream, but it is not to the interest of the nation. It may be to the interest of corporations to destroy the beauty of Niagara Falls by utilizing its power, but it is not to the interest of the nation. And the interests of the nation are paramount. The interests of the nation may often require individuals to sacrifice themselves for its good, but never does the need of the individual require the nation to sacrifice itself.

National Interest Above Individual Interest

This unity of a nation is produced through the solidarity of generations, which arises from heredity, from kinship, from the same environment—locality and climate—and from training in the same ideals. Each generation inherits a legacy of ideals and principles which it transmits to the next generation. "The forms which these ideals take—the laws, charters, constitutions—change; but the fundamental ideal, the shaping spirit, remains essentially the same."

The pupils may object that the people of this nation do not have the same environment. The climate and locality of New England are vastly different from those of California or Louisiana and tend to produce differences. This is true, but the facilities of communication and movement tend to destroy these differences. They may also object that the constant influx of immigrants prevents the solidarity which arises from heredity and kinship. And this is true. To offset this is the patriotic training given in the public schools which endeavors to steep the children in American traditions and ideals. For the same reason many cities refuse to have other than the English language taught in the schools.

Necessity for Patriotic Training in Public Schools

The nation is in many respects the expanded family. It is not a real family, because the head of a nation, king

or president, does not occupy the same position in it as a father in a family. It is, however, a real brotherhood of men with a common father, God, "Our Father," not "My Father." But this brotherhood is too large a group for men to feel the same personal attachment in it as in the family. In the latter the rights of the members are guarded by affection, and each subordinates himself through love to the general good of the family. But in the nation, where impersonal relations are substituted for personal relations and there can, in consequence, be no such personal attachment, the strong are liable to infringe upon the rights of the weak. The relation which exists between man and man in the nation, is that of right, and, hence, the moral basis of a nation is justice, the balancing of rights.

Moral Basis of a Nation Is Justice

The brotherhood of man, of which the child has heard so much, is exemplified in the nation. The nation is the expanded family, a big group of people united by blood relationship and spiritual kinship; bound by common interests; governed by a common purpose, the advancement of the whole; animated by one spirit, brotherly respect, helpfulness and friendliness; acting by one law, the Golden Rule.

The nation, again, is the social partnership. Only through the co-operation of his fellows can the individual live his life, earn his livelihood, develop his personality. The partnership is not, as Burke truly says, a mere business partnership that can be dissolved at pleasure, but a partnership in all science, in all art, in all business, in every virtue and in all perfection. "As the end of the partnership cannot be attained in a generation, it becomes a partnership between those who are living, those who are dead, and those yet unborn."

The Social Partnership of the Past, Present and Future

The previous instruction in solidarity should, by this time, enable the child to realize the social partnership in its fulness, the many organic filaments which bind men together, and the utter impossibility of separating their in-

terests, their lives. Yet it is so essential that he get the idea of the nation, of the whole, of the subordination of the individual to that whole, that it is well to illustrate this subordination and dependence graphically, by means of a circle to represent the nation, and segments to represent the individuals, and by this means to impress upon the child's mind his relation to others. This shows the incompleteness, the imperfection of the individual except as he plays his part in the whole according to the law of the whole. Only by being a man among men can he be wholly a man. It is the nation which is the perfect unit, not the family, not the individual. Man realizes his perfect self only through the nation. This is the object of the nation,—through the social life to develop men. The family develops *citizens,* the nation develops *men.*

The Nation Is the Perfect Unit

National spirit is modified by climate, soil, environment, inherited traditions and customs, education, conditions of situation, business and opportunity. The national spirit of different nations is, therefore, very different—a matter that must be taken into consideration.

The spirit of America is democratic. Man is here regarded as man. He looks out, not up or down. "I am as good as you and you are as good as I." This spirit finds expression in the organization of opportunity so that each and all may have equal opportunity for the development of their personality. Its cry is "fair play," "a square deal."

The Spirit of America

Fearing no man, the American feels good will to all. Directness, straightforwardness, plain dealing, fearless confidence, good will—these are national characteristics, except as of late years sapped by greed, and as the mad scramble for money has given rise to distrust. Alert, ingenious, adventurous, the American is not content to stand still and maintain a position, but ever advances. "Progress" is his watchword.

Should foes attack a nation it is the duty of all to fight for their country. Fighting for country is to fight for

one's home and family, and the homes and families of the brotherhood. No duty is higher or more sacred. The duty of national defense, however, receives so much attention in the usual patriotic teaching that nothing more need be said here upon the subject, except to suggest that more emphasis be laid upon the duty of respect and deference to the army and the navy, the defenders of the country. Children should be taught to honor the trade of soldiery which, as Ruskin shows, is not slaying but *being slain.* Soldiers should be honored because they hold their lives at the service of the state. Respect and honor are due them, because in the trench or at the ship's gun, "with all the pleasures of the world behind them and only death and duty in front of them they will keep their faces to the front; and they know that this choice may be put to them at any moment and have beforehand taken their part—virtually take such part continually—do, in reality, die daily." There is no occupation founded so absolutely on self-sacrifice as that of the soldier and sailor, and it is to the credit of America that she honors her brave soldiers, but much more still may be done to exalt heroic deeds and men.

Honoring the Class Who Are the National Defense

It is very difficult to adjust the balance in teaching between love of peace and hatred of war on the one side, and defense of country on the other. An army of defense is always necessary. Commercial rivalry grows greater between the nations, the tension increases in equal ratio, faster than the knowledge of the real nature of commerce, which is simply the *international form of service.* As Asiatic peoples rouse from their long sleep, overflow into the countries bordering the Pacific, and enter as competitors in commerce, new perils arise on the national horizon. America's policy has been to have a regular army only large enough to act as a police force. Hence the necessity of a well-trained state militia to come to the rescue in case of war. It should be deemed a privilege by patriotic young men, moved by a love of country, to enter

Necessity of an Army of Defense

AT CHICKAMAUGA TO-DAY.

their state militia and receive military training of a rigid kind, that they may act in the national defense in case of foreign aggression. There is no higher duty than that of defending one's country, and home and school must foster this form of patriotic feeling.

National defense, however, does not mean national offense. To trespass upon another nation's rights, to encroach upon another nation's territory, to take offense at some action of private individuals and hold the whole nation accountable, to side with its own agents when those they have injured retaliate, or "greatly to find quarrel in a straw"—this is national offense: this is not national honor to be avenged but national dishonor to be deplored and rectified. The cry, "My country, right or wrong!" because of its connection with love of country, seems to be noble. In reality it is ignoble. When the nation is in the wrong, when the right is with the other country, then the cry means "Down with the right! Up with the wrong!" National honor demands "My country right!" which means, "Down with the wrong! Up with the right!" To make the course of the nation *just* is national defense.

Distinction Between National Defense and National Offense

Quotations

O beautiful my country . . .
. . . . . .
What were our lives without thee?
What all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we give thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee,
But ask whatever else, and we will dare.

WARREN'S ADDRESS

Stand! the ground's your own, my braves!
Will ye give it up to slaves?
Will ye look for greener graves?
Hope ye mercy still?
What's the mercy despots feel?

Hear it in that battle peal!
Read it on yon bristling steel!
  Ask it—ye who will!
In the God of battles trust!
Die we may,—and die we must;
But oh, where can dust to dust
  Be consigned so well,
As where heaven its dews shall shed
On the martyred patriot's bed,
And the rocks shall raise their head,
  Of his deeds to tell?

—*John Pierpont.*

CHAPTER IV

THE STATE

It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great state, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel an example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—*Washington.*

THE highest form of social organization is the state—the nation in its public capacity. It is the nation acting as a person, as a corporate body. This entity is the embodiment of the national interests and the national conscience and of the national intelligence and the national will, which find expression in public law and public action. The state is the nation in action. It is the authority of the nation.

Authority Vested in One Person

The form which this authority takes varies in accordance with the development of the nation's social ideals, harmonizing with the national spirit. At a low stage of social development, the authority of sovereignty is vested in one man and the state is of the despotic form, like Turkey and Russia. Such a state is held to exist largely for the benefit of one man, and its main support is militarism. Protection from foreign foes is one of the chief purposes of the state.

Authority Vested in a Few Persons

At a higher stage of development, authority is vested in the hands of a few and the state is an oligarchy like Venice in the 16th century, or an aristocracy like England before 1830. Such a state is held to exist largely for the benefit of the few. The purpose of the state is protection from foreign foes and the maintenance of social order. It is now a police force, sovereignty still largely depending upon militarism.

When authority is vested in all the people the state is

a democracy like the United States. It now exists for the benefit of all. While it protects from foreign foes, while it maintains order, its principal object is the promotion of the general welfare. The sovereignty in such a state rests upon public opinion, not upon militarism.

Thus there has been a gradual evolution of the form of government from that where the one rules the many solely for his own benefit, through that in which the few rule the many for their benefit, to that in which all rule, and all are for each and each is for all: a wonderful progress from the age when Louis XIV of France could say, "I am the State," to the present, when in almost every country of Europe and America the people can say, "We are the State," and government is of the people, by the people, for the people.

Authority Vested in the People

Almost all European nations have democratic governments. England, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Austria-Hungary, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Greece, choose their own legislators and public officials. Australia, New Zealand, China, and the countries of South America have democratic governments. In many of these the executive head is not elected as in France, Switzerland, and the United States, but the office is hereditary, as in England, Germany, Spain. From a practical standpoint, many of these governments are democratic in form only; yet the democratic idea is progressing slowly but surely.

Purer Democracies Than the United States

Americans have somehow imbibed the idea that they are the only free nation—the only self-governing people. The children should learn not only that there are other nations which have democratic government, but that some of them are more democratic in practice than the United States, where aristocratic and plutocratic principles have crept in and are vitiating the workings of democracy. New Zealand and Switzerland are both purer democracies than the United States, and England is considered freer in some respects by political writers.

The term "state" is loosely used in general parlance as synonymous with country or nation. The term is restricted here to the body politic, to the nation as a corporate body. The term "government" has been used so far as synonymous with state. In a narrower sense government means simply the political organization by which the state accomplishes its purposes, the machinery by which it gets its work done. In this sense many erroneous ideas prevail about it: that government is an end instead of a means, that officials are rulers, that government is a mere taxgatherer.

Threefold Purpose of the State

That the children may be fortified against these false ideas, stress should be laid upon the threefold purpose of the state: to protect the people in their rights, in which function it is a protectorate; to further the general welfare, in which function it is a big elder brother; to conduct such work as can be better done by the nation in its corporate capacity than by individuals, in which function it is the manager of a co-operative association. In any of these functions the government is simply the administrative order which the state selects to carry out its purposes. Courts, legislative bodies, boards, commissions, officials, are the machinery of the state to accomplish these purposes—means to an end, not the end.

Not Government But Management

The term "governing" has come over into democracy from despotic and oligarchic states. In a real democracy there is no government, there is simply management. The state is a corporation, carrying on an enormous business through its chosen administrative agencies. The subject can probably be made clearer by reference to the business of the city or county, with which the children are familiar. This business, in the former, includes such functions as providing water, seeing that citizens are properly furnished with lights, making provision against fire, opening, paving, sewering streets, establishing and maintaining public parks, etc. All this means management, administration, not governing. In the county, the

people want certain work done, roads opened, bridges built, ditches dug. An election decides who shall oversee the work. This person is called a county commissioner. The office gives him no more power of ruling than the private position where one individual hires another to do work for him. It is administration, not ruling.

In the true democracy, all citizens have a voice in making and changing the laws affecting the common welfare, in electing the administrative order to do the work which is for the common benefit, and to maintain the common rights. No one man nor group, no king nor oligarchy, no boss nor machine, can rule over the others. This self-government, this home rule, is the last grand step in the slow evolution of government, from the despotic rule of the one for his own benefit, to the rule of each for all and all for each, whose end is justice. Democracy is the declaration that man has passed out of the estate of childhood, where he had to be governed, into the estate of manhood, where he has the knowledge and wisdom to govern himself, no longer a child, but a man!

Democracy Is Self-government

Some pupils may object that all people are not fitted to govern themselves and help govern others, through lack of education. They may say that only the "best" should rule. There are two complete answers to this objection. The end of democracy is not the perfect machinery of government, but the development of the individual. Its sole object is to make men, a nation of highly developed, well-rounded men. Democracy asks for men, not a smoothly running machine. In a family, the machinery of the household may be perfect, one servant to do this task, another to do that, with never a cog loose, but all oiled and in perfect running order. But there is no fact more universally recognized by sociologists and economists than that the children in such a family do not develop all their powers. On the frontiers, where the machinery of life was crude and its working rough, the struggle developed the noblest kind of manhood.

Object of Democracy Is Development of the Individual

In the same way democracy aims to make men by throwing responsibility on them. They learn by doing. Self-government, participating in the government, develops especially the judgment of the individual, his sense of justice, and his powers of co-operation. "It is only," says Leslie Stephen, "by participation in the political life, in the larger field of active, responsible citizenship, that the wider influences of life can be made vitalizing, that the social self finds its true development, that man becomes truly man." Let us conclude then that smoothly running machinery of government is good, but *men* are better.

Democracy Makes Men

Again, there is perhaps no fact more generally recognized by students of American life than that the class most dangerous to the common welfare to-day is not the foreigner, nor even the illiterate. It is the class, the vastness of whose enterprises blinds them to the needs of the common welfare, to the demands of justice and fraternalism. It is conceded that they are far less capable of judging wisely and dispassionately for the whole than the less cultivated and the poor. The essence of democracy is justice and good will, and these, in the case of those last mentioned, are not driven out by the circumstances of their lives.

It may also be objected that the United States has political bosses and party machines, and that it is, nevertheless, a democracy. But wherever there is a boss or machine there is democracy in name only. There is the form of democracy, but underlying that form is autocracy. When Caesar Augustus became Emperor of Rome he retained the forms of the Republic and governed despotically through them. The Russian Czar dissolves the Duma, Oliver Cromwell dissolved the Rump Parliament, but the American boss, like Caesar Augustus, rules *through* the legislative and official bodies. It is not democracy, however, but absolutism. Self-government is the essence of democracy.

Bosses and Machines Destroy Democracy

Most of the political evils in the commonwealth to-day

are due to the non-exercise of the right of self-government on the part of the people. In an election in a Western state only one in seventeen electors voted, and the proportion in some states has fallen as low as one in thirty-four! Mere voting, however, is not self-government. If the boss or machine of one party determines who shall be their candidates, and the boss or machine of the other party likewise makes up their slate, the elector who registers his choice of these candidates through the ballot is not exercising the right of self-government. The right to nominate is as important as the right to vote. The direct primary and the petition guard the elector's right to nominate. Nor is self-government confined to nominating and electing. Self-government includes the right to initiate and review legislation, also an active participation in politics.

What Self-government Includes

The second basic principle of democracy is equality. Since all men are not equal in talents nor in virtues, since there are most profound differences, mental, moral and physical, between them, what does the Declaration of Independence mean by equality? One school of thinkers makes its basis moral worth, the spiritual principle that places man above the highest animal. No matter how starved or stunted, it is the common possession of mankind. Another school holds that the souls of men are in the sight of their Creator equal. But whether it be moral worth, or soul worth, democracy holds with either school that man can, with proper instruction, favorable conditions and time, make infinite progress in knowledge and virtue. Democracy believes in the *potential* equality of men and its aim is to make the potential equality *actual*. It holds not that men *are* equal but that they *may be* and *should be*. That each man may realize his personality, may develop to the full all his powers, democracy accords equality of treatment, equality before the law and equality of opportunity, often called abolition of privilege.

Democracy Stands for Potential Equality

Natural justice gives to all men equal rights which the courts must secure for them, say the authorities on law. Law is justice, the balancing of rights. Laws are, therefore, general; not for a class. They take no recognition of religion, wealth, poverty, occupation, or position. Men are simply men, equal before the law in civil and political rights. This is the principle of democracy.

The boys will probably object that men are not equal before the law; that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor; that the rich and powerful laugh at the law and escape its penalties, while the poor, when they are the wrongdoers, suffer the utmost penalty of the law, and when they are wronged cannot afford to go to the courts; that the rich, when they are sent to jail, enjoy all the comforts and privileges of home, while the poor suffer all the rigors and hardships of prison life. Local cases similar to the following may be cited by the boys: "A judge disposed of two remarkable criminal cases in one day. A tramp who had stolen twenty-five cents was sentenced to six years in prison. A scion of good family who had embezzled one hundred thousand dollars was allowed to go free with a reprimand." The records of a certain town show that on a certain day, for stealing a nickel and two dozen eggs, a man was sentenced to two years in prison, while two ice-dealers who had *plead guilty* to a charge of conspiracy to raise the price of ice in their city were released from jail and their bonds reduced.

One Law for the Rich; Another for the Poor

Such cases discussed in the home create a profound disrespect for law and disbelief in the democratic principle of equality before the law. But the very violations of the principle, with the terrible injustices wrought, only make more apparent the grandeur and justice of the principle and the profound necessity of its recognition in practice. The object of the lesson is to make the children realize the grandeur and necessity of the principle of equality before the law, and that when there is not equality before the law there is not democracy, and that

The Principle of Equality Before the Law

upon the people themselves depends its observance in practice.

Laws are the expression of the common will concerning social relationships applicable to present conditions. But many of the laws upon the statute books to-day are not applicable to present conditions. They are survivals of the old English common laws, which were fitted for the struggle of the individual for his rights against the state, the state consisting then of one or a few. Through these laws the individual obtained his rights and then went to the other extreme. He took unto himself privileges which belonged to all, to society. Society has now to fight for its rights from the individual. In the past, the liberty of the individual was a safeguard against tyranny. To-day, society needs to be safeguarded against the individual liberty, which has become a social menace. The laws applicable to former conditions do not fit the present, but they still fill the statute books. They apply to crimes against the individual and against property, instead of to crimes against society. The egg-stealer committed a crime against an individual, the ice-dealers against society.

Individual Liberty Has Become a Social Menace

Laws reflect public opinion. The people have self-government. It rests with them to create a public opinion that shall issue in laws fitting the present conditions. The law is like an organism that adapts itself to meet the new and varying conditions of its environment, like a man who, in a stony country, builds his house of stone; in a heavily wooded district, of wood; and in a prairie, of brick. No opportunity should be lost to impress these truths upon the children: that the responsibility for good and bad laws, for enforcement of them, and for good and bad officials rests with the people; that, as Carlyle said, democracy is not a pill to be swallowed, which cures all diseases while we sleep, but that democracy is self-government, and if the people want it, they must work for it. It should be iterated and reiterated that if the laws and

Responsibility for Good and Bad Laws

institutions are bad, the people themselves are to blame; that it rests with them to make laws fitting the new conditions, and to elect and to appoint pure and upright judges to interpret them; that it rests with them so to govern their business by the principles of justice that their employees and all others connected with them may have the economic ability to resort to the courts to secure their rights.

The second reason for much of the inequality before the law is, that lawyers still labor for the good of their clients instead of for justice, the good of the one instead of the welfare of the many. Justice they do not seek, but simply the acquittal of their clients. Here, again, it rests with the people, through public opinion and through their own practice, to confine lawyers to their real social function, which is to see that their clients have fair play and that justice is done.

The Real Social Function of Lawyers

Equality of opportunity means abolition of privilege, "a fair field and no favor." Democracy deals out not only even-handed justice in the courts, but offers and preserves equality of opportunity, equality in benefits from society and nature. No individual, no class favored. According to its derivation from "privis" and "legem," privilege means "private law," law in favor of a particular individual; that is, private advantage. Equality cannot exist with private advantage. In ancient warfare, to make contestants equal there were self-imposed restraints. "Fair play" has been the cry through centuries. The square deal, by which all start in the race with equal conditions, with equal chances to win so far as society can regulate and control conditions—that is the essence of democracy. If any individual or class has privilege, any special private advantage, that individual, that class, acquires more than its share, which means that others must have less, and inequality results—the negation of democracy. For instance: the public schools are for the advantage of all. Now, if the teacher gives private ad-

"A Fair Field and No Favor"

vantages to any of the pupils, there is not equality of opportunity, and those with the private advantages forge ahead. In like manner should be taken up private advantages by exemption from laws with which the children are familiar, such as exemption from building laws; private advantages from knowledge, gained by corrupt means, of the plans of municipal governments; privileges by secret violation of land laws. Illustrations should be multiplied until the children realize the terrible results of privilege, and scorn it as the antithesis at once of justice and democracy.

An Unusual Field for Special Privilege

The abolition of privilege was thought to be provided for in the United States, by those clauses of the Constitution prohibiting the things which made for privilege in the Old World. But the conditions of America, with its vast territory and enormous resources, gave endless opportunity for the seizure of privileges, which the laws, based upon the conditions of Europe, have not prevented, and which the people, in their eagerness to seize some of the advantages for themselves, have not guarded against. Special privilege has thus run rampant, instead of being abolished.

The Square Deal

But the ancient principles of justice are just as applicable to the conditions of to-day and it is the duty resting upon the state, which is simply the people in their corporate capacity, and upon the individual to maintain the principles of justice which make for equality of opportunity. It is for the children to observe fair play in their games and work, it is for them when adults to practice the square deal in their business, it is for them never to take a special privilege and to see to it that no individual or class does so. Equality of opportunity is simply justice, the absolutely square deal.

A prime object of this lesson is to make the children realize the benefits resulting from the practice of justice —a nation of no great extremes of wealth and poverty, of culture and ignorance, of palaces and hovels; and

lastly the children must be brought to a vivid realization of the fact that upon the people themselves rests the responsibility for the inequalities that exist to-day. Eternal vigilance, constant adaptation of law to new situations, and a deep sense and consistent practice of justice in business, whether large or small, are the price of equality of opportunity.

Democracy is based on equality. If one man has a right to speak his mind on public matters, the opponent to those views has the same right. Again, it is only by the free exchange of ideas that national or public opinion can be formed, and democracy is the rule of public opinion. Moreover, free debate is the greatest bulwark of the liberties of a nation, because upon it rests the right to protest against the tyrannies of government and the evils of society. Some really wrong beliefs are thus given a hearing, but at the same time others, which seemed wrong at first to an overwhelming majority, have, through freedom of speech, made slow headway and finally won the nation from its way of thinking. Almost all of the demands of the Chartists in England, regarded at the time of their first announcement as revolutionary and hysterical, have since been granted. Many of the demands of the socialists have been incorporated in the statutes of Europe and America—eight hours a day, regulation of child and female labor, old age pensions, etc.

Equal Freedom of Speech

Through free discussion is wrought peaceful evolution. When it is denied there is revolution and anarchy. Free expression of opinion is one of the primary bases of all progress in civilization, since only through it can reforms be peacefully effected. Reforms are always started by small minorities, generally by a few individuals of spritual insight. Not one could be pushed peacefully to a triumphant conclusion, if shut down and silenced at the beginning of its work by the inert majority, who are always satisfied with things as they are. The denial of free speech, moreover, overthrows the fundamental prin-

Denial of Free Speech Leads to Revolution

ciple that man's responsibility to the law is for his deeds alone. Powers of government operate upon conduct only, civil conduct, and not upon opinions, because until these result in action they do not affect either persons or property.

Conduct, Not Opinions

For all these reasons free speech is one of the principles of democratic government. The theory of democracy is, that if so-called wrong views and theories cannot be answered by argument they are probably right, and should not be denied utterance. If they are answered by argument, then they are wrong and their influence soon dies.

There cannot be free speech to-day without a free press and free association. A free press is the means by which the knowledge of what is believed to be a new and true principle is diffused among the citizens, and free association is the instrument of uniting the efforts and the means of those who hold the principle. Inertia and the tendency to rest content with things as they are, cannot be overcome by a single individual. Only the free association of a daily increasing number of people can do this. Without association to advance a principle no nation could progress. Hence, free press and free association are fundamental principles in democratic states because their watchword is Progress. All such associations, however, must harmonize with morality and the principles for which government exists, else the state has a right to overthrow them.

Free Press and Free Association Fundamental to Democracy

Of all the forms of state the democratic is the best. Its aim is the grandest—not the benefit of one or of a few, but of all; the realization of their personality by all through organization of opportunity. This is the ideal toward which it is striving, though often hindered by the greed and selfishness of individuals. It is the only form of state which is co-operative and fraternal in action. "All for each and each for all" and "To live for others, not upon others" are its mottoes.

Democracy means good will, mutual help. It is the effort of all to make actual the potential equality of the brotherhood. It is a government by the people, of the people, for the people. In all other forms of state the object has been to produce a few highly developed individuals. In democracy to produce not *a man* but *men* is the aim. This does not make for mediocrity. It means the culture of the whole forest instead of a few isolated trees, and in the development of the whole is involved the development of each.

Democracy is based on a belief in each other, in justice, in mutual progress. It is teamwork on a big scale, each strong man supplementing and developing the weaker brother, that the whole may be victorious. In real democracy there is no cunning, no arrogance, no disregard of others' rights, no shunting of duties. It is brotherhood, real brotherhood, in action.

Democracy Is Real Brotherhood

Democracy is not a mere form of state, not a mere piece of clever machinery, not a mere administrative order to do certain work, but a process of discipline in moulding human nature; it is a spirit informing life itself. It is good will in action in all departments of life, in politics, in business, in religion, in science. In politics, democracy means, not to fight, but to co-operate; not the spoils of office, but the public welfare; not to rule for party, but for country; not to win so that advantage may be gained for the party, but to secure the opportunity to work for the public good. In business democracy means, not to destroy competitors and get what belongs to others, but to produce results that shall advantage all; not the "good bargain" that ruins one of the parties, but the "square deal" for both; not the crushing of the consumer by the producer until he is unable to consume, but the prosperity of the consumer which enables him to enjoy and thus enriches both; not to "let alone," but to interfere to prevent men profiting at the expense of others and encroaching upon their rights. In religion, democracy

What Democracy Means in Business, Politics, Religion, Science

means, not fighting those who hold different views, but co-operating for the coming of His kingdom on earth as it is in heaven. In science, democracy means, co-operating, that its benefits may be applied to the furtherance of the welfare of humanity. In short, democracy is the practice of the Golden Rule, "Love thy neighbor as thyself"; "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you."

All the principles of democracy rest upon justice. In a real democratic state each person says, as Washington Gladden puts it: "I do not want the community by its laws and officers to injure me, to disregard my welfare, to seek to gain at my expense. I want it to protect me, to care for me, to give me an equal opportunity with every other man to secure the good of life. As I wish the community to do for me, so must I also do to it. I must not try to thrive at the expense of the community. I must take care not to take out of the community more than I put in. I must do to my collective neighbor as I would have him do to me."

Words of Washington Gladden

Surely the grandest form of state conceived by man! Paint it and its principles in alluring colors, till love for them shall inflame the hearts of the children, shall enter into their every plan and dream of life, shall so mould their character that they will go forth resolved to make the ideal real.

Democracy as Yet an Ideal

For, alas! democracy is as yet largely an ideal. It is true, democracy in religion has been established by the permanent separation of church and state, as also democracy in education by the assertion and maintenance of the right to tax all the citizens for the education of all. But while the principle of democracy has been definitely established in political rights, it is constantly contravened in practice by aristocratic principles. Industrial democracy, equal rights and opportunities for all men under the law, is yet to be achieved. To establish democracy firmly is the future work of the children.

In a democratic state the sovereignty lies in the people. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized, with its correlative, the responsibility which accompanies that sovereignty. It is the fact of personal responsibility, of governmental duty, that makes citizenship in a democracy different from all other citizenship, far more important, far grander. Democracy is self-government, and if men want self-government they must toil to achieve and preserve it. They cannot transfer the responsibility of government. They are the government. When they are not the government, they have not self-government and it is not democracy. When the individual abdicates his throne by refusing to perform what is not so much his privilege as his duty, and hands his task over to bosses and machines, he deliberately chooses to be ruled and to be a subject rather than to rule and be a sovereign. He disdains the power for which the Napoleons and Caesars of the world have waded through oceans of blood, for which patriots in all countries have suffered imprisonment and death, for which the people of Russia have endured torture and exile.

Responsibilities of Democracy

If this abdication involved the individual alone it would not matter so much, but in so doing he hands over the brotherhood, the many, to the few to be exploited for the benefit of the few. Every refusal by a citizen to perform his duty in governing helps to supplant democracy by oligarchy or despotism. As children do not readily see how the defection of *one* has any such serious effect, comparison should be made with the defective stone in a wall or building, or the rotten timber in a bridge, which endangers the safety of the whole.

The Individual Citizen Is Democracy's Strength and Hope

To repeat: if a democracy fails the citizens themselves are to blame, because authority is vested in them. The individual citizen is a democracy's strength and hope. He cannot transfer the responsibilities of government. He is the government. The responsibility is more than a privilege; it is a duty.

Poems

FOR YOU, O DEMOCRACY!

Come, I will make the continent indissoluble.
I will make the most splendid race the sun ever shone upon.

I will make divine magnetic lands
With the love of comrades,
With the life-long love of comrades.

I will plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers
Of America and along the shores of the Great Lakes and all over the prairies.

I will make inseparable cities with their arms about each other's necks,
By the love of comrades,
By the manly love of comrades.

—*Walt Whitman.*

WHO IS "THEY"?

Why don't they keep the streets a little cleaner?
You ask with deep annoyance not undue.
Why don't they keep the parks a little greener?
(Did you ever stop to think that *they* means *you?*)

How long will they permit this graft and stealing?
Why don't they see the courts are clean and true?
Why will they wink at crooked public dealing?
(Did you ever stop to think that *they* means *you?*)

Why don't they stop this miserable child labor,
And wake the S. P. C. A. up a few?
(While thus you gently knock your unknown neighbor,
Did you ever stop to think that *they* means *you?*)

—*Stuart Dunlap.*

HYMN: "DEMOCRACY"

Air: "Maryland, My Maryland."

Of equal rights our fathers thought:—
  Yet rights alone are buds of strife;
The lesson of our time has brought
  A larger dream of common life.
Not "rights for Man," but Right in men;
Not laws, nor crowns, nor creeds, but men;
It needs the calmest, wisest men
  For builders of Democracy!

No wealth can mould those frames of state,
  But men, who, in their height of soul,
Unbought, unbid, unbayed by Fate,
  Shall gain enlargement for the whole.
Not steel nor stone, but hearts of men,
Uplifted by the hands of men,
And welded by the love of men,
  Shall build the true Democracy!

Not sway of arms, but march of mind,
  Not conquests but self-conquests, win
The larger life for humankind:
  The future's empire is *within*.
The age's passion turns on men,
More peace, more love, more light, for men:
In high resolve unite, O men,
  To build the true Democracy!

CHAPTER V

LAWS: DUTIES

True laws are right reason conformable to nature,—universal, unchangeable, eternal; whose commands urge us to duties, and whose prohibitions restrain us from evil.—*Cicero.*

There is no right without a parallel duty.—*Lieber.*

LAW is the science of right civil conduct. It is concerned with the adjustment of men's relations to one another in society. Laws are of two kinds, common and statutory. The first are universal laws of social conduct based on the experience and crystallized by the usage of generations of men. They relate to natural rights, rights attached to the attributes of personality—security of life, property, reputation, etc. Statutory laws are the expression of the common will concerning social relationship, applicable to present social conditions. They are the utterance of the national character, the expression of the national intelligence, sentiment and will. When they do not express the national wish, and are not in harmony with the national character, being the arbitrary fiat of a ruler or of a minority, they are difficult of enforcement.

Laws Common and Statutory

Law is upheld by the ethical conscience, but its own sphere is not ethical. It follows standards of policy only, not absolute standards of right and wrong. It deals only with social conduct, and such conduct as may inconvenience or injure others. Many things that are wrong in society law does not prohibit, many things not wrong in themselves it does prohibit. These last become wrong because forbidden.

Law Deals Only with Social Conduct

Both ancient and modern writers hold obedience to law

to be the great virtue of democratic states. Aristotle in his "Politics" holds lawlessness to be the last form or state of democracy, after which the cycle of government commences again—despotism, monarchy, democracy. Professor Giddings and other thinkers of to-day hold it to be one of the two great perils of democracy.

There is no doubt but that democratic states lose their old respect for law. In such states people do not obey rulers, they obey laws. Statute law is an abstraction, and obedience to an abstraction is difficult. In the past, when law was the expression of the will of a sovereign famous for heroic deeds and mighty achievements, enveloped by the pomp of wealth, rank, admiration, and love, worship made obedience easy. It is because of their recognition of this fact—that some material embodiment of virtue and justice makes obedience easier—that the Japanese ascribed their victories in the Russo-Japanese war, not to individual prowess, but to the virtue of their Emperor.

The Loss of Old Respect for Law

But beyond and behind the reverence for the sovereign, the obedience of the subject had its root in *force,* the power of the sovereign to punish disobedience. To-day, the sovereignty is in the people themselves, in the people who make the laws. That takes the place of the old sanctions in modern states.

Instead of the love and worship which made easy obedience to a Henry IV. of France, or an Elizabeth of England, instead of the force with which a czar or sultan compels obedience, there are in democratic states good will, fraternalism, and the impelling desire to render justice and help to all. For this is the aim of democracy, "to seek, to find, to do justice together." The old sanctity of law, its divine or kingly origin, the old feeling of reverence for it as an end, no longer holds; but a new sanctity attaches to it as a means to an end,—the betterment of society. The sanctity lies in the object to be accomplished by the law, not in the law itself. "I must obey the

The New Sanctity of Law

law because God has handed it down, or because my overlord has made it," has given way to, "I must obey because it is for the good of the whole." He who does not obey law in democratic states is deficient in justice and good will. He is anti-social.

This is the ideal, this the sanction that must prevail if democracy is to continue to exist. In the interregnum between the disappearance of the old sanctions and the growth of the new, is the present period of lawlessness—everywhere evasion or breaking of law by individuals, by corporations, by communities. Of this lawlessness it is not necessary to speak here, except to say that its widespread evidence should deepen parents' and teachers' sense of the responsibility resting upon them, to hasten the growth of the new sanctions by instilling the love and habit of justice, co-operation, and fraternalism, and by developing the civic sense, so that obedience to law shall become easy.

Lawlessness During Transition from Old to New Ideals

Since the moral life of the child is primarily evolved from his imitation of the copies set by those about him, it is exceedingly essential that the atmosphere about him be on the side of law. Too often is this fact, that the child forms his personality by imitation (under the limits of heredity), forgotten and, hence, a bad example is set. For instance, a teacher makes certain rules against whispering, and then moves a boy to another part of the room, because he knows that the child will whisper if left in his former seat. By that act he tells the children that they are not expected to obey. Or if the boy, left alone, does whisper, there is no swift-following punishment, certain and sure, to mark the connection between crime and penalty, to show "that crime and punishment grow out of one stem." "There is no law without its penalty," says a noted criminologist, "no law in nature, no law upon the statute books; it is a law of law that penalty follows disobedience." But too often in schools and homes children are falsely taught concerning this supreme principle.

Penalty Must Follow Lawbreaking

Laws are laid down and the penalty not inflicted, and every time this is done the child's respect for law is lessened, and the habit of obedience weakened.

The child must be required to submit fully and completely to law: *not merely law for the sake of order, but order for the sake of law.* What is generally the end should be the means. There should be school laws about whispering, tardiness, marching, etc., strictly enforced, not merely because they further the efficiency of the school, but because self-restraint is good and the habit of obedience necessary in the members of society. It need hardly be said that *before* a law is promulgated, every means of friction should be removed so far as possible, so that the child may insensibly form the habit of obedience. But when all orderly arrangements have been made so far as human reason can foresee, there remains nothing but firm and constant enforcement of law.

The Child Must Submit to Law

But obedience to arbitrary laws laid down by parents and teachers will not secure the habit of obedience necessary for a democracy. Apron-string obedience leads later to license. The difference between obedience in a despotism, and that in a democracy, must be kept in mind. In the former, men obey from fear, or by force; in the latter, by choice and good will. In the one, they obey the authority of one or a few; in the other, they obey law, the authority of all for the sake of all. Hence, the home and the school must be a modified democracy to secure the desired kind of obedience, and the rules must not be the personal rules of parents and teachers, but must be common rules, rules formulated by both elders and children. Some set form of school government is excellent for the purpose, but it is not necessary.

Home and School Must Be a Modified Democracy

The teacher should, at the beginning of the school year, have upon the blackboard a vivid drawing of a fortress set upon a hill, Fort Education or Fortress Citizenship, with a besieging army camped at its foot. A stirring account of some siege might be told, though this is not

necessary. This fort is now held by the forces of Ignorance. The school is the army whose assigned task is to take this citadel. Bring out in the discussion the qualities needed in the soldiery, and the regulations necessary to make the campaign a success: obedience, regularity, punctuality, co-operation, etc., etc. The teacher should do little except to press the buttons that will direct the current of discussion to the points desired. Later, the discussion should turn upon the constant discipline needed, and the penalties that must follow disobedience of the rules, so that the children may commit themselves openly to the inexorable necessity of disobedience being followed by just penalty. Now the rules laid down are common rules, rules promulgated by both teacher and pupils. The children realize that they are not arbitrary fiat rules, but rules for the common good, rules made by all and for all; and that the teacher is the general, in whom authority is vested by the government, both to lead them to the attack and to enforce the regulations needed for success. The penalties attached to the regulations should not be severe. For the two objects aimed at, prevention of disorder and the realization of the connection between crime and penalty, experience has shown that, in school as in society, it is not the severity of the penalty, but the certainty and promptness with which conviction and punishment follow the offense, that is effective.

Allegorical Teaching of Obedience

The habit of obedience rests largely upon a sense of the justice of the laws. We should in our homes and schools, follow the methods of the Japanese. When a Japanese Admiral was asked why the Japanese respected the authority of their own countrymen, but were so difficult for foreigners to manage, he answered, "We always try to let our men understand that what we want is just. If they feel that, they will do it." This seems to be the limit of authority, but within that limit have been evolved, not only a population as quiet and orderly as there is on the earth to-day, but a most efficient fighting machine.

Japanese Obedience

The social necessity of obedience should be dwelt upon —showing how society is like athletics and requires a good team game, or is like the human body, in which each cell must obey the laws of the human tissue or, by its failure, bring disease, decay and death upon the whole organism. An almost exaggerated respect for law should be shown, and even occasion made to show it. For instance, if the superintendent, board, supervisor, or janitor makes a rule that the teacher thinks unnecessary, he might take occasion to say that he does not see the wisdom or the need of it, but that, since it is the law, there is only one course open, and that is to obey. Ordinances of the city may be used in the same way. "What you wish a child to be, be that to the child," and be it with enthusiasm.

Regard for Law Taught by Example

For the regular lessons, little more can be done than to show the necessity for obedience, with illustrations from the home and schoolroom. Just as a home or school would go to pieces, without the habit of obedience to the laws framed for the good of the whole, so would the state. Use illustrations from teamwork in games and in an army —the instant, unquestioning obedience, by which every action contributes to the welfare of the whole. Evasions of law coming under the children's own observation, or chronicled in the press, should be held up to scorn—scorn, because back of every evasion of law are dishonesty, greed and self-interest. These are the points for emphasis: the enormous self-conceit that thinks one's own affairs are of more importance than the sum total of all the affairs of others; the monumental greed that sets aside, for private advantage, a law planned for the good of all; the huge injustice to others who obey the law, or are injured by its infringement.

Obedience and the State

The children should give reasons why laws ought to be obeyed:

1. Obedience is a duty because it secures peace and order.

2. Since the people make the laws, it is the part of honor to obey them.

3. Since laws are for the good of the brotherhood, good will forces us to obey them.

4. It is unjust that only a part should obey them.

5. Fair play requires obedience to laws made by other people, in order that they will obey laws favored by one's self.

6. The very essence of democratic government is the rule of the majority.

Relation of Law and Force

The question of force is sure to come up. Because democracies do not rest primarily upon force, as do despotisms, and because in America the army is but little in evidence, the idea has grown up that there is no force in a democratic state, a state where the sovereignty is vested in the people. The child should be shown that at this stage of human development back of all government is and must be force. Law is the embodiment of the will of the people, or of a majority of the people. The sovereignty of the people passes into its administrative order, the government, to enforce obedience to its will.

Obedience is not simply refraining from doing the things forbidden, it is also doing with all one's heart the things the law commands. Nations call for service, and the citizen who fails to give these services is not rendering obedience. He alone fully obeys who does cheerfully all that the nation demands. A man may never break a law in his life, yet, because he never did anything for the nation, he is failing to fulfil his obligation of service.

Active Obedience Required

This distinction should be made in the very first year of school life, and emphasized through the eight years. The child who never breaks a rule may be only half obedient. The welfare of the school demands active cooperation from each member,—active service. Not only must he not drop paper upon the floor nor mark upon the walls, but he must pick up paper thrown down by others, he must erase marks made by others. Not only

must he study his own lessons, but he must urge others to study theirs. He not only must abide by the rules of a game, but he must help others to do so. School life and home life command as well as forbid, and that child only is truly obedient who does what is commanded, as well as refrains from doing what is forbidden. In his civic life likewise he must pick up peelings and paper on the street, and not merely abstain from throwing them. He must not break windows or rifle flower beds, but he must also use every effort to prevent his comrades and others from doing so.

Active Obedience the Basis of Real Patriotism

Early in life this habit of active obedience, as distinguished from the merely passive and negative, should be formed. Discuss frequently the two kinds of obedience and show that active obedience only is the basis of real patriotism. He who abstains merely from breaking law, who only when called upon renders the service demanded, is not a patriot—except in times of war, when, perhaps, he becomes active. In time of peace he sluggishly acquiesces in what is being done by others. He leaves to others the full responsibility, and contents himself with doing nothing that is very discreditable. Such a person is not, as he flatters himself, either a good citizen or a patriot. He who, while in the service of the government, municipal, federal or state, accepts a position with a larger salary in some private corporation or business enterprise, also fails in active obedience.

Relation Between Crime and Its Penalty

Crime is the breaking of the law. It is generally defined as the will to get more than one's share, to do less than one's part, to have pleasure at the expense of others. Its basis is selfishness and disregard of the rights of others. The penalty for crime is the vindication of the law. It is the statement, the revelation of the fact that the law holds good, although broken. Evil has been done and the evil must return upon the doer. By the conduct of the school and the home, by making the connection plain between cause and effect, by using the analogy of phys-

ical laws, by deepening the sense of justice, the necessary and intimate relation between crime and penalty can be shown. Never should there be a violation of law but that a penalty of some sort is paid. Punishment, certain and sure, reasonable, though not severe, is absolutely necessary to fix the connection between crime and penalty, to create respect for law, respect as deep and abiding as that of the English, with whom it has become second nature. So fixed in the minds of that people is the connection between breaking of law and paying the penalty, that when they turned law-breakers for conscience's sake in the case of the Education Bill, hosts of them on that occasion becoming "passive resisters," they made no effort to escape the penalty of the broken law. They even implored to be sent to jail.

How to Create Respect for Law

There are very few laws that may be disobeyed. If they are contrary to conscience they should be, but that seldom happens in democratic countries. The case referred to above, that of the resistance of the nonconformists in England to the law which placed control of popular education more or less in the hands of the clergy of the Established Church, is an example of such disobedience. America's course in 1776 with regard to taxation without representation is another. But in case of laws thought merely unwise or inexpedient, the proper course is to obey them while they are in force, but to work with might and main to convert the majority to one's views in order to have the law changed.

When Laws May Be Disobeyed

Aside from the laws of social right and wrong, there are those relating to safety and convenience. The things forbidden by them are not wrong in themselves, but become wrong because forbidden. Such are ordinances forbidding the piling of boxes upon sidewalks, the obstruction of fire escapes, parading in crowded thoroughfares, the hitching of vehicles upon narrow streets. All the health and building ordinances are of this character. Absolute obedience to these laws of social safety and con-

venience is as necessary as to those involving social right and wrong. The conscience which commands obedience to them is called the "legal conscience."

It is imperative in this age of crowded living that the legal conscience be trained from the kindergarten up. Every mother and teacher should be thoroughly conversant with the "prohibited offenses" of the community—ordinances relating to health, building, general safety and convenience, even to the width, height and material of sidewalk, width of porches—in order that their social reason and social justice may be shown, and the social obligation of obedience to them may be emphasized.

Train the Legal Conscience from the Kindergarten Up

Many, if not all, of the prohibited offenses, such as those relating to compulsory vaccination and hours of labor, interfere with individual liberty, but do it in the interest of the social body. The right of the individual yields to the good of the whole. Self-preservation is the first law of the state.

The majority must rule in a democracy. Their decision, as expressed in statutory law, commands obedience. When, after a campaign of education, the majority of the people decide upon a certain policy, or elect certain men to office, then it is the imperative duty of the minority to acquiesce. The progress, the very existence, of a democratic state rest upon acquiescence in the decision of the majority. But this is to be distinguished from mob-rule, the blind following of the crowd. Though the minority must abide by the decision of the majority at the polls, and obey the laws, the former do not have to change their opinions or sentiments. While obeying, they can still use every effort of tongue and pen to convert their fellows to their opinion. This is the right of the minority—to convert, if it can be done by lawful means, the majority to their opinion. While they must march in the procession, they are not obliged to "climb in the band-wagon," and they can spend their time endeavoring to convert their fellow paraders. But they must march.

The Rule of the Majority and the Right of the Minority

Children, and adults as well, often disobey law because they think it commands. But most legislation to-day is not commanding, but fostering, in its nature. In the administration of income and expenditure, in the maintenance of economic welfare, in the support of commerce, and in the management of public works, there is little exercise of ruling. It is largely economic administration, and this rests upon expert knowledge, not upon authority of state.

Moreover, laws are not made arbitrarily. When certain rights are discovered unguarded, and are being violated, the legislative body is under obligations to enact laws to guard those rights, and these laws derive their authority, not so much from the jurisdiction of the legislature, or from the sovereignty of the people whom the legislature represents, as from the fundamental principle of justice. Illustrate by means of the school laws, framed from time to time to meet new emergencies, whose ultimate authority lies, not in the fiat of the teacher, or in the combined fiat of teacher and pupils, but in the justice of the laws themselves.

The Moral Law of Justice Always Exists

The moral law of justice always exists, and always governs the relations of men, whether expressed in statutes or not. They who violate this supreme law, and heap great wrongs upon their fellow men in the conduct of their business, pleading in excuse that they are breaking no statutes, are, in reality, the greatest law-breakers.

Stories

THE FINN AND THE TOURIST

"Can't I have a shot at an elk?" questioned a traveler of his guide in Finland. "No, sir, it's against the law." "Well, what is the penalty?" "Two hundred Finnish marks," was the reply. "All right. Will you come if I pay the penalty?" "No, I won't. It's against the law and I am not going to break it."

DEATH OF SOCRATES

"Come," said the friends of Socrates after he had been sentenced to death. "Come, assert your individual rights. Men are unjust to you. Athens threatens to put you to an ignominious death. Escape and take your liberty." But Socrates said, "I have no rights against Athens and her laws."

(Enlarge upon his beautiful character, his great service to Athens, his unjust sentence, and then paint the scene of his death.)

REVERENCE FOR LAW

Richard Jackson, a native of Massachusetts, was accused, during the American Revolution, of an intention to join the British army. He admitted the truth of the charge and was put in the rude country jail, from which he could easily have escaped. But he considered himself held by due process of law, and his respect for law forbade flight under such circumstances. He asked leave to go out and work by the day, promising to return each night. Consent was given, and for eight months he went out each day and returned each night. The sheriff finally prepared to take him to Springfield, to be tried for high treason. Jackson said this would be a useless expense, for he could go alone. Again his word was taken and he set out alone. On his way he met Mr. Edwards of the Council of Massachusetts, who asked whither he was going. "To Springfield, to be tried for treason," was the reply. At the trial, proof being complete, he was condemned to die. Attempts were made by his friends to have him pardoned, but in vain, until Edwards told of the interview. Then there was unanimous acquittal, based on his reverence for law.

His Obedience to Law Saved His Life

PRESIDENT GRANT AND THE LAW

One evening President Grant was returning with some guests to the White House, rather late for some public function. As the carriage dashed along at great speed,

a policeman stopped it. "What's the matter?" asked Grant. "Matter!" growled the policeman, who in the dark did not recognize the President, "don't you know that you are driving about nine times as fast as the law allows?"

"Well, now that you call attention to it, I believe we are. What must we do?"

"Go down to the station."

Fined for Speeding

The other occupants of the carriage, a noted diplomat, two senators, and a member of the cabinet, objected, but Grant said, "No, we must go. I, of all men, should not break the law." He asked the policeman to get in, and then drove down to the station and paid the fine.

(It should be brought out that, while there was no attempt on the part of the President to evade the penalty, yet there was not in him that respect for law itself, such as the Finn had, that would have prevented the breaking of the speed ordinance in the first place. A very important distinction to be drawn.)

ENGLISH RESPECT FOR THE LAW

A Law-abiding Banquet

A dinner was given in a public restaurant, in London, for two men who had managed the Court Theatre successfully for a term of years, and had just leased another theatre. It was presided over by the Earl of Lytton, and among the guests were such people as Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Home and Lady Gordon, her highness the Ranee of Sarawak, Mr. and Mrs. George Bernard Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Sutro, H. Beerbohm Tree, and Judge Adams. The banquet was a huge success. Mr. George Bernard Shaw had just concluded his toast at 11:20. Enjoyment of the affair was at its height when the chairman, Lord Lytton, announced that the police had notified him that the time limit had been reached and that they must close at once. The remaining speeches were left unspoken, the function was brought to an abrupt end, and the guests dispersed.

Crime and penalty are cause and effect. There must be force and compulsion. The rights of the whole are superior to the rights of any part. These three truths must be thoroughly impressed upon the children, to do away with that sickly sentimentality which often now shields the offender at the expense of society. Criminals guilty of the most heinous murders, of the most atrocious crimes, are often treated as heroes by a large section of the community, and are the recipients of letters of sympathy, of flowers, and of all sorts of presents. Petitions are signed by thousands of men and women, praying the governor or board of pardons to pardon some criminal, upon whose trial the state has spent thousands of dollars, and of whose guilt there is no doubt.

Sickly Sentimentality

When prisoners are brought before a court of justice for trial, the judgments rendered are to be determined wholly by the facts and the law involved, with no consideration of the social, political, or economic standing of the parties litigant. Yet with this well-known duty staring them in the face, juries are swayed by sentiment at seeing the tears of the prisoner's wife, or the grief of an old-soldier father, or because the prisoner is a woman, they disagree or acquit. Governors pardon men whom they know to be guilty, because of the pathetic appeals of the prisoner's little son, or because the prisoner's mother has gone insane. Pity for the wife, for the children, or for the aged parents, is demanded hysterically by sensational newspapers.

The evils of sentimentalism are many. Sentimentality is not morality. It is the "emasculate tenderness of those who shrink from violence, not because it is a transgression of order, but because it is coarse and noisy," and grates on the nerves. It rejects justice, it disregards the good of the whole, it degrades the majesty of the law and creates disrespect for it.

Sentimentality Is Not Morality

"It is the basis of that easy good nature that encourages the political boss, that suffers the growth of cor-

rupt corporations, permits vile tenements to exist, allows the despoiling of forests and the destruction of life on the railways."

Twenty-one thousand friendly citizens signed a petition, asking a governor to pardon a state official under conviction for embezzling the public funds, the ground of the prayer being that he was "the victim of circumstances." The circumstances were, as the trial showed, personal debts, gambling debts, losing investments in oil wells and gold mines, and unrepaid loans of public money to friends. Clemency was asked because he was a good fellow in hard luck!

Justice Before Mercy

The precepts and quotations below should be memorized by the child, and the truth embodied in them made a part of his moral equipment. He should not memorize Portia's speech below the high school, not, in fact, until he has a deep sense of the necessity and absolute dominion of law. The idea of justice, which is basic, must be ingrained before that of mercy, which is only a modifier of justice. To instil reverence for mercy before justice is to "put the cart before the horse."

The truth should be shown, apropos of incidents of the home and schoolroom and of such public cases as can be profitably discussed among children, that leniency is often injustice to society, to the whole whose interests are paramount; that "penal justice" does not mean justice to an offender. Justice to him is comprised in having a fair trial. The penalty inflicted is not a concession to any rights of his, for he has forfeited them, but to the rights of society. His punishment is meted out in justice to the community whose welfare is involved.

What Is Penal Justice?

Sentimentalism runs wild in the mob, and in the treatment of the mob by the sheriff and other officials. Dolewell says that it is never a kindness to let a mob run wild. "This is not to befriend men but to make beasts of them. . . . Cold steel in the hands of soldiers may be as wholesome, humane and curative as in the hands

of a surgeon dealing with a cancer." In the case of mobs, the sheriff must defend his prisoners, the soldiers must shoot, the police must do their duty, the court must punish, no matter if the mob is made up of brothers or friends, because "the unchallenged dominion of law is of much greater importance than the immunity from suffering, or even destruction."

In the Case of Mobs

Stories, Quotations

Mercy to the criminal is cruelty to the people.—*Arabian Nights.*

* * *

Misplaced lenity is an offense against society.—*Seneca.*

* * *

Nothing emboldens sin so much as mercy.—*Shakespeare.*

* * *

Where law ends tyranny begins.—*Pitt.*

* * *

Mercy is not itself that often looks so;
Pardon is still the nurse of second woe.
—*Shakespeare.*

Isabella—Yet show some mercy.
Angelo—I show it most of all when I show justice;
For then I pity those I do not know,
Which a dismissed offense would often gall;
And do him right that, answering one foul wrong,
Lives not to act another.
—*Shakespeare.*

THE FARMER AND THE SNAKE

A Farmer found in the winter time a Snake, stiff and frozen with cold. He had compassion on it, and, taking it up, placed it in his bosom. The Snake, on being thawed by the warmth, quickly revived, when it immediately bit its benefactor, inflicting on him a mortal wound. The Farmer said with his last breath, "I am rightly served for pitying a scoundrel."—*Æsop.*

Mistaken Clemency

In despotic and oligarchical or aristocratic countries, a tax has always been a fine imposed upon the many for the benefit of the one or the few who carried on government. As new standards of justice and honor prevailed, pressure to give the people something in return increased; but even then the few set their own price and gave what they chose in return. This idea of tax as a burden or fine has come over into democracy, and is partly responsible for the disinclination to pay taxes, the evasion of them by men honest in other particulars. It is, therefore, essential, in view of the anomaly of a people hating and evading the tax which they themselves impose, that the children understand what taxation in a democratic state really means.

What Taxation in a Democracy Means

A tax in a democratic state is not a fine, not an exaction, but a payment made by all for certain benefits received by all. By co-operating, all the people are enabled to enjoy certain advantages which the most of them could not enjoy otherwise—pure water supply, sewerage, lighting, schools, parks, hospitals, libraries, museums. The tax differs from the old tax, which left people poorer because no equivalent was rendered, in that it makes people better off—better in health, in education, in comforts. Taxation is the payment of co-operation.

Taxation the Payment of Co-operation

It is not necessary that the individual citizen receive personally any benefit from that which his tax helps to supply. He may have no children to send to school, he may have his own water supply, he may be able to afford the best doctors and nurses; nevertheless, such is the solidarity of humanity, that his interests depend upon the health, intelligence and comfort of the community which the taxes serve to promote.

Moreover, the feeling of brotherhood, the imperative of the Golden Rule, constrain us to submit to the discipline and order which permit the life of our brothers to reach its best. We should, for instance, pay school taxes cheerfully, that our neighbors' children may have

a fair chance to develop their powers. Paying taxes is one of the ways in which we can pay back to the community somewhat of our social debt.

Taxes should be cheerfully paid because it is dishonest to evade payment for things bought. To order sewers, parks, or schools, and not pay one's share, is simply theft. There may be some excuse to evade a tax, when it is tribute levied by a conqueror, but there is none when the tax is levied by oneself. When we co-operate to secure common benefits, it is the part of honor to pay for what we get.

Evading Taxation Is a Crime Against the Community

Moreover, it is unjust to the brotherhood to evade one's share of taxation, because the exemption of any one throws so much the heavier burden upon the others. Where individuals or corporations own vast tracts of land which, through the cowardice or the corruption of the assessors, is assessed for little or nothing; where the holders of taxable values, such as stocks, magnificent house-furnishings, etc., withhold such from assessment, the rest of the community has either to make up the deficiency or else go without the advantages desired. Schools must be closed or teachers go without salary, sometimes for years; schoolhouses are insufficient to accommodate the children of the community; sewers, waterworks, and filtration plants are not installed: the whole suffering through the injustice of the few.

Direct and Indirect Taxation

Of the two kinds of taxation only the direct has been spoken of, that paid to the county or city treasurer. The indirect tax, which constitutes the larger part of taxation, is imposed by tariffs, and is paid in personal and household expenditures—in the purchase of cloth, silk, sugar, coffee, and many other articles of food and clothing, of furniture, tin, glass, tobacco, etc. Of this indirect tax little can be said to young children, as it is a political and economic question, except that the taxpayer cannot tell exactly what he is paying in the indirect form, and that it is always well to scrutinize his bills for supplies

closely. It should be made clear to the children that they who pay no direct tax, yet must pay indirect tax, because to most people payment of taxes means only the semi-yearly payment at the treasurer's office.

What Is the Community Getting for Its Money?

The question of rates depends, not so much on the amount to be paid, as on what the community is getting for its money. In many communities the tax rate is high and the people, through the dishonesty of their officials and contractors, get little in return. In others, with the same or lower rate, they get back the full equivalent in excellent schools, parks for the recreation of the people, good sewers, clean streets, admirable public service. A community that pays a higher rate of taxation than its neighbor, but receives back a full equivalent in all that makes for the health, comfort and happiness of its citizens, is far better off than that neighbor, notwithstanding its lower rate, which does not receive its full equivalent, or goes without the things that make for its welfare.

Duty of Voter as to Taxes

It is the duty of each citizen to interest himself in public expenditures and to consider his tax bill, not as an unavoidable evil, but as a measure of what he is getting from the city, county or state. If taxes are high in proportion to what he is getting, the remedy lies in the election of better public servants, and in the demand for the fullest publicity in public expenditures.

The following questions can be used, and the children required to obtain the correct answers:

What is the assessed valuation of your city or town?

Is it a full valuation, or at an agreed-upon discount from the real value—that is, if your property is assessed at $5,000, would you be willing to sell it for that sum?

How is this valuation determined, and how often is it revised?

What is the city debt, and what rate of interest is paid upon it?

What sinking fund provision is there for the repayment of the bonded debt?

Is there a constitutional debt limit, and if so, to what per cent of the valuation may your town borrow?

What is the total tax rate, and how is it divided for city, school, and state or county uses?

Mr. Horace McFarland adds: "These are the bare primary facts, knowledge of which is essential to honest and intelligent voting. A really efficient citizen will soon want more information, and get it—as to water rates, paving assessments, park maintenance, electric and gas light costs, the granting of public franchises, and other things for which he pays his money. He can't know too much!

Essential to Intelligent Voting

"A municipality, large or small, is responsible for its debts, and the citizens thereof supply the money, in the shape of taxes, assessments and rates, to pay those debts and to run the business of the municipality. Every dollar of taxable property the citizen has is liable for the debts of the municipality, that is, the assessed valuation of a city is its capital fund, upon the credit of which it may borrow money on bonds issued, and the taxes provide its working income and its means of repaying loans. In most commercial corporations the stockholders know with more or less accuracy the capital stock, the bonded indebtedness, the rate of dividend, and the value of the property; yet in the municipal corporation, of which each taxpayer is a stockholder, with all his property liable to assessment, ignorance of these primary details is the rule, and knowledge the exception.

Ignorance of Taxpayers Promotes Graft

"Really good citizens are intelligent citizens, who are informed at least upon the fundamental facts of the finances of their immediate municipalities. Ignorance always promotes 'graft,' and for such ignorance the taxpayer, who carelessly pays without knowledge—but often with grumbling—and votes without information, has no excuse.

"Whenever business men are business-like in their relations as citizens to municipal financing; whenever they

consider taxes, assessments, bonds and salaries as they would in private or corporate life; in short, whenever 'good' citizens are honest in knowledge as well as in criticism—grafting will become a hateful memory only."

If the real co-operative spirit prevailed, the taxes need not be so heavy. If the children in rural school or the farmers in their slack season of work, would use the split-log-drag to improve the roads in front of their property; if wealthy men would improve the roads, or build bridges, schoolhouses, city halls, or drinking fountains; if the people would co-operate to use in channels of public utility the power that now goes largely to waste, taxes could be lowered and public burdens lessened. Much should be made of voluntary co-operative effort, and the use of surplus time, ability and wealth, in works of public utility.

How Taxes Could Be Reduced

Perhaps no more unjust system of taxation could be devised than the one in use in the United States. Just methods of taxation are among the most difficult problems of government. The children should not only be taught that it is one's duty to pay his share of taxation cheerfully, but they should be urged to study the subject upon arriving at manhood and womanhood, for the remedy lies in their hands.

Tax Day, January 2nd, is the day when residents of New York City can go to the assessor's office and offer protest against the amount assessed them. It is the custom of many wealthy men, says a New York tax expert, to exchange taxable bonds for nontaxable bonds some day previous to January 2nd, so that on that day they may swear they hold no taxable security, yet fully intending to buy back the taxable bonds a few days later, and hold them for the rest of the year. Advertisements in financial journals prove how highly organized this industry of tax-dodging has become. Tax-free securities designed for tax-dodgers are openly offered for sale. On the day before Tax Day you own, say, a million of railway securities taxable for $14,700. That day you go to

Dishonest Schemes of the Tax-dodger

the company advertising, sell your railway securities and put your million in tax-free municipal bonds. Then you make your affidavit that you have no taxable property. The next day you sell your municipal bonds and buy back your railway securities. You can do it all in forty-eight hours and your net saving is $14,700, less the small commission for buying and selling.

Questions:—Dishonesty in this course? Greed? Untruth? State all the injustice of which such a man is guilty. Since the full amount of money has to be raised, upon whom is the burden of paying this $14,700 thrown? If it is not paid in some way, name the things necessary for the public welfare that either go undone or else are poorly done. If one is honest and just, can he do this? If one has the real spirit of brotherhood, if he really loves his neighbor as himself, if he really acts upon the Golden Rule, if he is really just, does he make the community pay this $14,700 twice (for it is only through the labor of the community, through their use of the railway that he gets any return from his railway securities)?

Searching Questions as to Paying Taxes

The jury is essentially a democratic institution, for it secures the direct participation of the people in the dispensing of justice. In a democratic state this function cannot be left to the executive, nor to a class or caste. Since justice is the main foundation of the state, jury service is one of the most important functions of its members. The citizens make the laws, and also, through the institution of the jury, make their application, whenever a situation arises for which a particular law was made, and the abstract principle is to be applied for protection or punishment. In England the jury is addressed as "country." The law is the expression of the country's will, and the jury represents that country to see whether in the particular case the facts warrant the application of the law. The jury represents the country, the nation, —not the government.

The Citizen's Duty to Serve on Jury

Consequently a heavy responsibility rests upon the

juror. He acts for his country. The laws must be applied through him. The foundation of the state is justice; the country asks it at his hands for the prisoner. The real object of the state is protection; the country demands it against crime.

The Juror's Duty to Apply the Law

The juror must not trifle with his duty by discharging it lightly. He does not sit on a jury to dispense with laws, or set them at naught by ill-advised and weak compassion for guilt, or by private favor or disfavor. His sole function is to apply the law. It is his task to find a true verdict, not considering the nature of the punishment.

The service of jury is thus one of the most important duties of citizenship, yet it is widely shirked. Many never go to the polls to vote, for fear of their names getting on the jury list; others seek exemption in one way or another from magistrates and court officials. While receiving all the benefits, these men are not fair enough to share the burdens of citizenship. They sponge upon the less able in the matter of personal service to the community. This spirit of meanness and unfairness is strongest among those who can best afford to lose the time.

Shirking the Service of Jury

One of the multi-millionaires of New York was once praised by the newspapers because he did not evade a jury service. Yet who could better afford to serve? Whose obligation greater to return to the community in service some of the benefits he had received? The rule should be that responsibility for service to the community increases in direct ratio to freedom from the pressing care of earning a livelihood, and to benefits received from the social partnership.

Apply here, as in all these duties and rights, the three tests of conduct: you exact jury service from men in your cases, render it in theirs; place the welfare of the community before your own private interests; what would be the result if all abstained from jury service?

The right of expression is one of the personal rights

of man. In a democratic state one method of expression concerning the interests which affect him is the ballot. It is used in politics, which is the consideration of the common interests. When these interests have been discussed, then by the ballot is determined the consensus of opinion as to the policy to be pursued, and the choice of men to carry it out. Democratic government being self-government, voting is one of the elementary functions on which the very existence of a free government rests. The obligation resting upon each citizen to vote is imperative. It is a duty which by its very nature cannot be delegated.

Imperative Obligation to Vote

Since democracy is all for each and each for all, he who abstains from voting rejects the brotherhood and denies fraternalism. In refusing to work for the common welfare, he rejects democracy itself. He who is willing to take all the protection, opportunity and benefit which the democratic form of government affords him, but refuses to bear his part of its burdens, is unfair, selfish and dishonest. He who, from indolence and disdain of politics as "low and dirty," refuses to vote, not only betrays his ignorance of what democracy is, of what politics is, of what the whole institution of the state is, but he rejects the privilege which his ancestors fought for from the days of Runnymede down, a privilege for which many nations are still struggling—self-government. No more thoughtlessly did Esau sell his birthright. No more treasonably did Hippias lead the Persians to his native Greece.

Neglect to Vote Is Rejecting Democracy

As suffrage extends, the proportion of men failing to vote increases. In some communities only one man out of every six of voting age votes. Two mistaken beliefs are responsible for this deplorable state of affairs. The first is a misapprehension of what politics really is. The general opinion is, that politics is simply a scramble for office, simply a struggle between two or more sets of men for certain offices. Laboring under such a mistaken notion,

the average citizens care little about the matter and stay away from the polls. They mistake for the ends what is only the means. The officeholders are simply men hired to do certain things the community want done. They are servants, just as the maids in the kitchen, the grooms in the stable, the clerks in the store or office. And just as care is needed in the selection of these latter, so is it needed, only in greater degree, in the selection of public servants. Indeed, when the magnitude of the public work is considered—the administration of a big city, the control and expenditure of a more than princely revenue—there is no comparison in the care and attention that should be paid in the selection of these two classes of servants.

A Deplorable Mistake

Politics, instead of being "low," is really one of the loftiest fields of endeavor in which man can engage. In a city or village, to determine what streets shall be paved, when sewers shall be installed, what rate a gas or electric company shall charge for its services, what fare street car companies shall ask and what tax or rental for their franchise they shall pay, what kind of filtration plant shall be adopted to purify the water, etc., etc.—all this is politics, dealing with matters that affect each and all. In the state, to determine equitable railway rates, to administer the public lands in the interest of all, to regulate hours of labor and the labor of women and children, to supervise the sanitary conditions under which labor is performed—all this is politics, common matters that touch the welfare of all the citizens on all sides. In the nation, to guard the public lands and forests in the interest of all, to regulate interstate commerce so that all shall have a "square deal," to regulate the tariffs so that no class shall bear heavier burdens than another, to control public carriers so as to promote the general welfare: in short, to abolish privilege, maintain equality before the law and organize opportunity equally for all—all this is politics. There is nothing "low" about these things, all

Politics a Lofty Field of Endeavor

matters of high import which have occupied in one form or another the greatest men of the age—like William of Germany, Seddon of New Zealand, Roosevelt of the United States.

The grandeur of politics, its tremendous issues and responsibilities, the glorious fortune of it, that men can themselves determine what shall be done concerning the common welfare, instead of having it done or not done for them by the one or the few, as was the fate of our ancestors in the long ages that have gone before—all this should be vividly impressed upon the child. Politics is the game of social life, and politics to-day is one of the biggest, grandest games man has ever engaged in, because so many players are engaged, the play so complicated, the issues so tremendous! Paint the game alluringly, so that the child will like to hear of it, will become absorbed in it, so that, as a man, it will be not merely his duty to play the game, but his greatest satisfaction.

The Grandeur of the Political Game

The second error concerning the ballot under which man labors is, that as suffrage extends the individual's responsibility lessens. It is the very contrary that is true: the moral obligation of the ballot increases in the same ratio in which the suffrage extends. Dividing the ballot multiplies the responsibility, just as in a watch or other complicated piece of mechanism, the more intricate and complex it is, the greater is the responsibility upon each cog or wheel to be perfect in its performance of the duty devolving upon it. The more complicated the automobile becomes, the more quickly the whole action ceases when the slightest part fails in its work. So democracy ceases when men abstain from voting and hand the reins of government over to boss and machine. Democracy then turns into an oligarchy.

Dividing the Ballot Multiplies the Responsibility

But it is not enough that one cast his ballot. The ballot itself must be intelligent and disinterested. In a republic like the United States the government rests largely upon

representation, and representation rests essentially upon election, sovereignty being in the people. Any offense against election is a crime against the majesty of the people. This fact, that any corrupt influence in elections is treason, cannot be too strongly impressed.

Voting is either for officials to do certain specified work, or for laws, either directly (referendum, constitutional amendments, etc.) or indirectly. In voting for officials, the character of the candidates should be considered, their rectitude and backbone. Promises made in the heat of the campaign should carry but little weight. "We can judge of the future only by the past." Man will act according to his habitude. As one cannot judge of a building by one brick, or of a book by one sentence, so a man cannot be judged by a campaign speech.

Consider the Character of the Candidates

Many forget that magistrates are people engaged to do certain work for the social partnership, and solace themselves, when voting for the party candidate, by the thought, "Oh, he'll do." When a man has a piece of work to be done for himself, a house to be built, a pavement to be laid, he does not act upon the principle that anyone will do. In the conduct of his own business, large or small, he endeavors to hire honest and competent men. But private enterprises can only be contrasted with public enterprises in the relative importance of results, in the amount of the money handled, and the number of people affected. How absurd to trust the conduct of the greater and more important enterprises to men who would not be trusted to run a bank or manage a factory!

Honesty and Competency Essential in Public Officials

It is well to bring these matters home to the child's mind as often as possible in expressions of dollars and cents, in terms of the pocketbook. Citizens have a general notion that boodling aldermen, grafting policemen, inefficient department heads, are expensive to the city, but they do not grasp the idea that such officials also cost the individual something. When it is worked out in exact figures, in concrete cases like the following, however, they

realize it: A certain mayor in a Western city dismissed the chief of the fire department and put in a new man. Thereupon the board of underwriters gave notice that they would make a flat advance of ten per cent. in all fire insurance rates in the city, because the mayor had turned over the department to an untried and inexperienced chief. Each citizen immediately saw that this meant four dollars or ten dollars or a hundred dollars more insurance, and he realized that incompetency in city hall was costing him something in his business.

Concrete Case of the Cost of Inefficiency

In other ways it should be shown how the citizens themselves really pay the bills for dishonest and inefficient officials whom they elect to offices of such power and responsibility. Bad water, bad housing, bad sewering, dirty streets, impure food, insufficient playgrounds, etc., all come back upon the people in the form of doctors' and undertakers' bills.

In voting for municipal officials, no consideration of party or friendship should enter. The fitness of a man to be elected city engineer to give levels for sidewalks, pavements, etc., or county commissioner to build bridges or construct roads, or mayor to plan the affairs of the city, has no relation whatever to the party preferences of the man on national issues. The only vital question is, "Is he capable of doing the work honestly and efficiently?" Rectitude, backbone, and expertness, are the necessary qualities of officials. Policies, not parties; character and ability, not "reward for party services"—these are the only things to be considered.

No Consideration of Party or Friendship

As for friendship, the voter does not act as a man but as a citizen. He is acting, not for himself, but for the good of the whole. To vote for a man merely because he is a friend, or is needy, or has done one a service, is to prostitute a public end to private means; to regard public office as a personal appanage, or to reward private service at public expense, is treason to the social partnership.

Above all, one should not allow himself to be personally solicited for a vote. Anyone who solicits a vote really insults the person he solicits, for he says in substance one of two things: "I know that you are not very honest, that you don't care much whether you vote conscientiously or not, and so I know that I can ask you not to consider the question at issue but to promise to vote for me." Or, "I know that you are weak, that you have neither brain nor will enough to decide the matter for yourself." Voting as solicited really means disfranchisement for the one, and double or plural voting for the other.

Voting as Solicited Means Disfranchisement

In voting for laws, either directly or indirectly, the only consideration is that of the public good. The question is not, "How will it affect me or my interests?" but "How will it affect the public welfare? Is it for the good of the whole?" Lieber has an illuminating passage upon how to consider the passage of a law, that is of special service when the proposed measure is born of sentiment or mob spirit. "Ask yourself," he says, "how the law will operate in given circumstances. The essence of the law consists neither in its wording, nor in its professed principles of themselves, but in the action of those principles upon the material. Read the proposed law, imagine it passed and say to yourself, 'And what then?' Try to see it operate in advance; represent it clearly, but do not suffer yourself to be disposed one way or the other by party vanity—a very powerful agent—dislike, revenge, or merely the pronouncing of a favorite principle or political idea of yours."

In Voting for Laws

The two forms of bribery employed in elections are equally shameless and equally destructive to the commonwealth. Direct bribery, selling one's vote, is lying, for a vote is the expression of one's convictions. It is the lie of action, which is just as heinous as the lie of speech. Selling one's vote is cheating, for a false public opinion is substituted for a genuine one. Selling one's

vote is treason, for the public good is trafficked for private good. Indirect bribery is just as heinous and hurtful. To be influenced by the gifts of stocks or bonds, by the promise of a position or office for one's self or relatives, by favors of any sort, is to be bought and paid for just as much as the man who takes two dollars for his vote.

Both the direct and indirect forms of bribery are from without, and the briber is as bad or worse than the bribed. But another form, more insidious, is bribery from within, where the person is bribed by his own interests. He bribes himself who is influenced in his voting, either as elector or legislator, by the consideration of the advantages or disadvantages that may accrue to his company and his enterprise from the passage or defeat of a measure. Self-bribery is the most subtle and dangerous form of all, because it is so easy to believe that what is best for one's own interests is necessarily best for the public interests. In the early part of the nineteenth century not many of the English nobility would take a direct bribe of ten or fifty thousand pounds, yet their own interests led them to oppose the corn laws, though the English people were starving. The recent history of America has been so hideously rife with all three forms of bribery that no illustrations need be given here.

When the Voter Is Bribed by His Own Interests

In the last few years a new element has been introduced into politics—the vote of woman. Women possess suffrage upon equal terms with men in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Nevada and Montana. The State Legislature of Illinois has extended to women all the franchise rights within its power to bestow, for all the offices not created by the State Constitution. Iowa has given the women the right to vote at all school and municipal elections upon any proposition to vote bonds or increase tax levies. Women have secured full parliamentary suffrage in Australia, New Zealand, The Isle of Man, Finland,

The Vote of Woman

Norway, Denmark, and Iceland; and they now have municipal suffrage on the same terms as men throughout the British Isles and in Sweden, also a certain measure of municipal suffrage in nine of the provinces of Canada, and in a few cities in British eastern possessions.

It is too early to generalize about this modern phase of politics. In some communities, it is true, women do not avail themselves in large numbers of the new privileges. For such women, as well as men, the words of Mazzini have a special force: "But to possess the right of the ballot is not to be a free man. He only is a citizen who uses the right. A man is not a sportsman because he owns a rifle. Rights are not ends, they are instruments to an end. The real value of a right depends on the use to which it is put. The man who does not vote, or who sells his vote, is not a citizen—because he is not using the ballot to its only end, to achieve the well-being, the development of the social self, in which is the only real deliverance from bondage. The only free man is the developed man. Rights simply give the opportunity to be free men. The exercise of the right alone makes free men. All the blood shed for rights is water spilt on sand if men fail to fill their lives with those great positive ends of life, to which rights are but the means."

Mazzini on the Exercise of the Franchise

In this America of ours there are three things we must have: free government, the management of public affairs by the people; honest government, government in the interest of the people; and a square deal. These can only be secured by the participation of the people in politics. In addition to the duty of supporting the family is that of devoting a part of leisure time to civic affairs. It is not the teacher's and parent's task to preach politics as a career, but it is their task to represent in glowing terms the privilege and duty of choosing public affairs as an opportunity for incidental public service, of not leaving them to those who make a business of them for personal advantage. Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court opines

Free, Honest Government and the Square Deal

that "we shall never pass the danger line of our government until every individual man feels that upon him rests the destiny of his country." Walt Whitman says in "Democratic Vistas," "To practically enter politics is an important part of American personalism. . . . I advise every young man to enter strongly into politics. Always inform yourself, always do the best you can, always vote."

The mistaken conception of politics as a "dirty scramble for office" must be replaced by the true conception of it as "the business of the common interests." Shall the county have good roads on which to carry its produce to market? Shall the speed of automobiles be regulated, that horses be not frightened or children hurt? This is politics. Shall the city have parks, so that children may play? Shall there be supervision of the milk supply, so that disease be not communicated to children through the milk they drink? This is politics. Shall the state regulate railways as to rates, safety appliances, hours of labor? Shall it tax or rent franchises? This is politics. Each question, moreover, touches the individual. He is in politics, willy-nilly.

What Politics Really Is

A democracy is a government of the people. It is not a government of the officeholders. They are simply persons chosen to carry out the wishes of the people. Just as a man who engages a contractor to build him a house according to certain plans, must keep careful watch to see that his plans are carried out, so the people who are building a representative democracy must watch their public servants to see that their plans are faithfully carried out. As democracy never becomes a finished thing, the vigilance of the builders thereof can never relax.

In a Democracy Vigilance Can Never Relax

Officeholders are simply the administrative order, representatives chosen by the people to enforce the public policy, the deliberately formed will of the people. This is a fundamental to impress upon the children, that in a democracy government is the rule of public opinion, the

opinion of the people concerning what is best for the public welfare. Government does not form public opinion; public opinion forms the government. Public opinion is the opinion of all the private citizens formed after study, investigation, and public discussion.

As it is his interests and those of his brothers which are at issue, it is the citizen's duty, and is to his advantage, to keep informed about these common interests, to see what they are, how best served, and what men will best carry out the plans finally agreed upon. If citizens have not the courage to watch and investigate and stand by their convictions; if they have not the patriotism to initiate reform movements and create public opinion, and the steadfastness to keep up pressure until their officials enforce the public will (for it is not enough to pass a law; it must be seen to that it is enforced); if they have not interest enough in the things that intimately concern their own welfare and that of their brothers—then they themselves are responsible for being robbed and misgoverned. If they will not do the work of government in their own interest, someone else naturally does it in his own interest.

Citizens Themselves Responsible for Being Robbed and Misgoverned

Merely to vote is not self-government. Self-government is being the government, is forming the public opinion and will, which representatives, voted for at elections, are to enforce. It is keeping informed about legislative enactments in the city, state or nation; it is calling the attention of the public to legislative encroachments and corruptions; it is making investigations of educational work and needs; it is acting upon one's convictions as to the liquor problem, child-labor, tenement housing, sweat-shops, public franchises, public-service corporations. It is keeping track of the public expenses, of how the public money is applied, of the conditions of public contracts, and how those contracts are kept.

Real Meaning of Self-government

Because in a democracy the government is the people, it is the duty of all to watch the action of those to whom

they entrust the administration of their affairs. Herbert Spencer puts one precept of self-government thus: "Take for granted that things are going wrong until proved to be going right, rather than take for granted that things are going right until proved to be going wrong"—which is simply a new version of the old saw, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." It is much easier, by watchfulness, to prevent evils from acquiring a hold, than to dislodge evils securely entrenched, and it averts incalculable damage to the community in money, in morals and in comfort. At one time, a governmental blunder came near sacrificing some of the fundamental franchises belonging to the citizens of a great Eastern city. Private citizens discovered it in time, called public attention to it, and the mistake was remedied. If not discovered till long afterward, this blunder would have been rectified only through costly litigation. If the citizens of cities and states would pay attention to the building of their city halls and capitols, with foresight instead of retrospect, they would not have to forfeit millions of dollars for sham furnishings, or engage in long and costly litigation to recover damages. If the citizens would take for granted that things are going wrong and keep watch, there would be no such corruption as has been revealed in almost every large city.

The Citizen Must Keep Watch and Prevent Corruption

Of course, it is not pleasant to watch those who have done nothing to cause suspicion, to manifest distrust when all seems well. It is much easier and more comfortable to assume honesty than to look for dishonesty, to believe that things are going right than that they are going wrong, to avoid offending officials than to mortify them by investigation and criticism. But such amiability in citizenship is the beginning of the end—inefficiency, corruption and machine rule. Democratic citizenship exacts stern and unpleasant service. The condition of banks is examined periodically. Much more important are the affairs of government, for here it means not only

Stern and Unpleasant Service

money, although the amount concerned is princely, but the liberties of the people. If officials and employees are resentful under scrutiny, the more imperative the need of criticism and protest. Honest officials who are conscientiously performing their duties never shrink from investigation and honest criticism.

The Use of Criticism and Protest

Criticism and protest are both a right and a duty: a right because an employer has always the right to criticise the performance of the duties entrusted to employees, and a duty because they are the weapons by which the rights of the people are guarded. Citizens are soldiers guarding a fortress, each soldier having a part to perform. If one fails to perform his duty at the point where he is stationed, the assaulting force finds entrance through that weak and undefended place. Criticism and protest are two of the soldier's weapons. To vary the figure, they are the keys that have been put in the hands of the citizens, who cannot shift their responsibility if they leave unlocked the doors of opportunity to those who would destroy real democracy. Thus, in many ways, should the truth be impressed that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The Useful "Kicker"

The term "kicker" is no longer a term of reproach, instead it is one of compliment. "The kicker," says one of our public men, "is the only means by which an American party is kept in order." More he might have said: the "kicker" is the only means by which any organization, social, business, religious, or political, can be kept efficient, progressive, and incorruptible. The "kicker" embodies the spirit of criticism and protest. Whenever the cry is flung against a "kicker," "hands off," it is pretty certain that "hands have been in" and kicking should go on.

It might also be shown that kicking against wrong is a great help, if one has political aspirations, if he desires to rise high in the service of his country. So every prominent man in public life to-day, who is beloved by the

people, has kicked at some evil until he has made his standing so good that he is pushed ahead by the grateful citizens and given the great tasks to do.

The spirit of true citizenship is that of William Henry Baldwin, whose life was one of civic endeavor, and of whom it was said, "He was one of those Americans, who, having enlisted to make his city and country better, did not hesitate to criticise them out of the intense love he bore them."

Critical Because Loving

Quotations

One on God's side is a majority.—*Wendell Phillips.*

* * *

Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

* * *

I care not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.—*Patrick Henry.*

A distinction should be drawn between citizen and resident. A man is a citizen, says Hamilton Wright Mabie, and not merely a resident, in the degree in which he enters the life of the community. A resident lives in a community and shares in its advantages, but takes no part in its civic life, pays back in service no part of his civic debt. A citizen shares the burdens of the community, makes its interests his interests, studies its problems, gives time and attention to civic betterment, and thus pays back his civic debt. A citizen differs from a resident in having a strong sense of honor. He is unwilling to take everything and give back nothing. The field is boundless for intelligent and effective service.

Distinction Between a Citizen and a Resident

When a man is chosen by his fellow citizens to do certain work for them as mayor, commissioner, treasurer, auditor, or councilman, and he accepts the office, the obligation rests upon him to perform to the best of his abilities the duties of that office for the public welfare. His

first and only consideration is, not how much he can get out of the office, but how much he can put in; his only question, not how much benefit can be received, but how much can be bestowed; his only ideal, not self-service but public service. Every officeholder holds his place as a trustee, and to treat the place, the authority, the opportunity, as private property, is the depth of dishonor. It is as much treason as the act of Benedict Arnold, who treated West Point as his own.

Not Self-service But Public Service

When a man is elected to a legislative body, he represents not himself, not his party, but the whole people. He is sent to work for the public welfare. The legislator who sells his vote trafficks in the honor of the people and prostitutes the trust imposed in him. "Such an act is more fatal to civic life than any other crime," as ex-Governor Folk says, "for it pollutes the stream of law at its source. It makes the passage of laws mere matters of bargain and sale, thwarts justice, enthrones iniquity, and renders lawful government impossible. When such is the case, the government is not of, by, and for the people, but of, by, and for the few who have wealth to buy official favor—the greatest enemy to free government."

Political Ambition Based on Service to the People

A man should be bigger than his office. He should do his work so thoroughly for the people that they will send him higher. Political ambition based on service to the people is one of the grandest visions for American youth to have. Cases should be cited, with due care to the balancing of parties, of prosecuting attorneys, mayors, governors, and state and federal legislators, who have executed their trust so ably and conscientiously for the public welfare that the people, independent of party bosses, trust them and give them greater and greater tasks to do.

An officeholder is able to render also the greatest social service. The reform of Coney Island, for instance, was due to the head of the Bureau of Licenses at that time,

who personally examined all the shows and exhibitions and refused to license those that were fakes or disreputable. The services of Judge Lindsey, in Denver, for the youth of that city, and of certain judges in Chicago, Cleveland, and St. Louis, who use their court rooms as a means to uplift humanity, should be told the children.

The field of service of the private citizen is much wider than that of the official, who must attend to the duties of his particular office. The citizen has the whole realm of service to work in, the whole field of civic welfare. All the reforms—social, industrial, political—have, with but few exceptions, been initiated, and carried through to the success attained, by public-spirited private citizens and the public opinions they have created. The great electoral reforms—registration, Australian ballot system, direct primary, initiative and referendum, etc.—have been won through the efforts of private citizens. The great industrial reforms—abatement of the "sweat-shop" evils, better housing of the poor, regulation of hours of labor, of child and female labor, safety appliances in mill, factory and railway—did not originate with officeholders or legislators, but with private citizens.

The Private Citizen's Wide Field of Service

All progress has been made under the pressure of public opinion, created by the private citizen. This is the essence of democracy, self-government, home-rule: not to have things done for one, government superimposed from without; but to do things oneself, to be the government. The individual that does not have the spirit to do this, to investigate, to initiate, to create public opinion, is unfit to be a citizen of a democratic state.

Progress Due to Public Opinion Created by Private Citizen

A citizen should devote himself to public service in his own community, as his avocation. He can watch the state legislature, which is constantly encroaching on the rights of his town; he can interest himself in education—adequate housing, better equipped teachers, more industrial training, compulsory laws; he can see that municipal regulations are enforced in his community, that the public

franchises bestowed secure a fair return through taxation or rental, and that public-service corporations serve the public. He can keep himself informed of the financial condition of his own community, of the relation between income and outgo, and of the returns to the community from taxation.

Duty of Citizen to the Community

Every citizen should join a local organization, independent of party affiliations, that labors to have the fundamental principles of honest, efficient, progressive municipal government embodied in law and realized in practice. It is the duty of the private citizen to discover evils, diagnose them, then find the remedy, and arouse the public opinion which compels its application. For the best of laws is useless unless enforced by public opinion.

Stories, Quotations

Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.—*Horace Mann.*

* * *

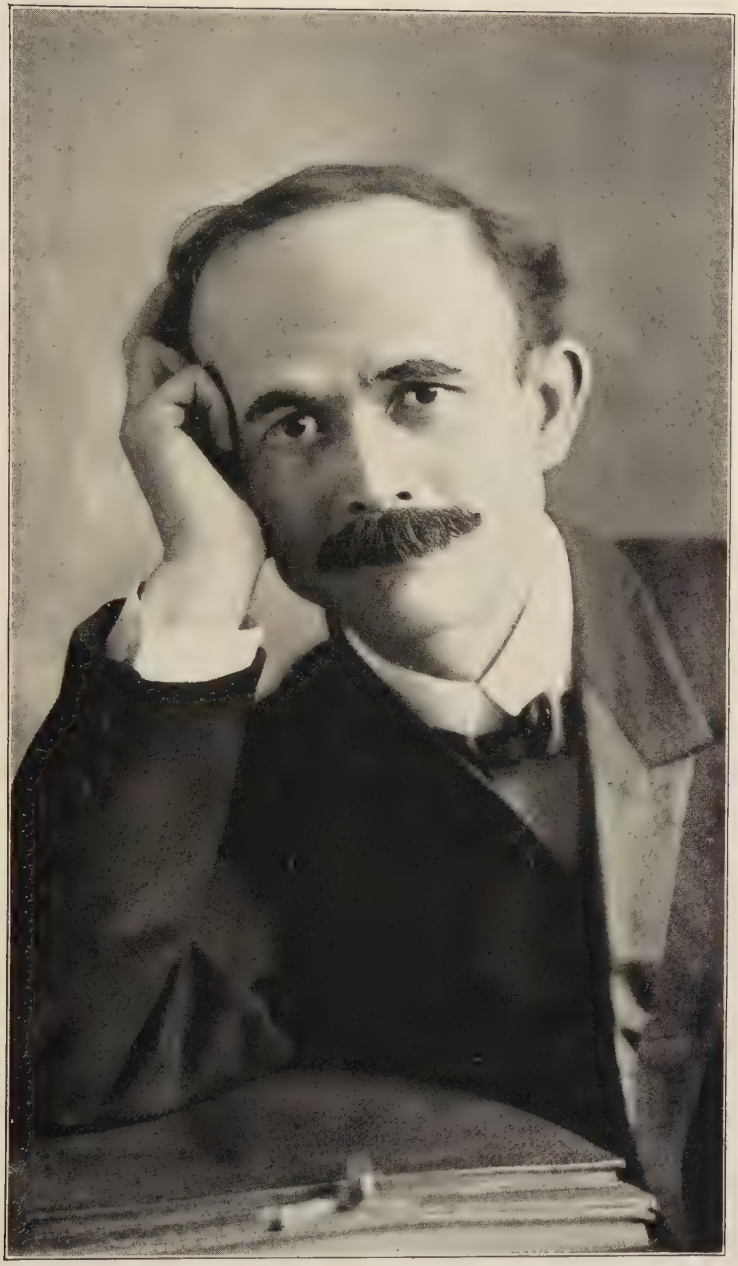
In this world, the one thing supremely worth having is the opportunity, coupled with the capacity, to do well and worthily a piece of work, the doing of which is of vital consequence to the welfare of mankind.

—*Theodore Roosevelt.*

DANTE'S LIMBO

The Curse on Passive Obedience

Before entering the Inferno proper, Dante and Virgil entered Limbo, "the abode of those who had lived without praise or blame, thinking of nothing but themselves." They had been passively obedient to the laws of life, taking no active part in the community. They had been residents, not citizens. In consequence, "worthy of neither heaven nor hell," they were doomed to Limbo, where they "passed their moments in wailing and moaning in anguish of spirit." "Heaven would not dull its brightness with them, nor would lower Hell receive them."



HON. BEN B. LINDSEY.

PUBLIC SPIRIT

We were marching on a road broken up by the rain and the passing of many troops. At each step we sank deep in the clay. It was a toilsome march, and any impediment in the road was much disrelished by the weary men. In the midst of this road there happened to be a stone, covered by the mire, but of sufficient size to hurt anyone who knocked against it. Each soldier, as he knocked himself, grumbled and passed on. The colonel observed this and stopped while the troops passed. At last a soldier arrived who likewise knocked and hurt himself severely. He showed it by the expression of his face, but immediately went to work to remove the stone and then passed on. "Stop!" called the colonel, "what's your name? More than ten men have passed here and hurt themselves, and you are the first one who had public spirit enough to remove the stone. You shall be one of the first corporals."

The Stone in the Mire

Business is important, but it is not sacred. When business requires that laws which the people have made for the common welfare be broken or evaded, then the business is contrary to the public good. The moment that one wants to evade or break a law for the success of his business, that moment is the one to recognize that the business is calling for treason, and to stop instantly. The infallible test for the righteousness of a business, and the patriotism of the men conducting it, is in the respect and the obedience paid to the laws and institutions of the country. The law need not necessarily be on the statute books. If, through the creation of improved conditions and new situations, public opinion, the moral sense of the community, has gone ahead of statute law, then to violate this unwritten law, to work against the public good, is treason. Nor does it really matter even about public opinion. There is always the principle of

When Business Is Treason

justice to guide, and the welfare of the whole for a test.

No one can be a patriot who does not place the welfare of the whole before his own mere money advantage, who does not obey the laws and institutions of the country, who does not observe the principle of justice in business as in private life. The moment a business needs evasion or breaking of law, it has become an evil, a menace. It is undermining the state like taking out the foundation stones from under a building. The very foundation of the democratic state is equality before the law and abolition of privilege: in other words, justice.

How a Business May Undermine the State

Benedict Arnold sold West Point to the English, and is known in American history as "the traitor." But his betrayal of his country cannot compare in disastrous results with the treason of the man who buys from policemen exemption from the enforcement of laws that regulate his business, who buys councils and legislatures to pass laws favoring his interests to the detriment of the public welfare, or hires counsel to find ways of evading laws made for the common interest. The former sold one fort of his country, the latter destroys the very corner stone, equality—the square deal and no favor, fair play and no privilege. Without these democracy does not exist.

Equal Opportunities for Growth and Happiness

Democracy recognizes that the individual has a right to demand that, so far as it lies within human power, society shall be so organized as to give equal opportunity for growth and happiness. The duty rests upon each member of a democracy, so far as it lies within his power, to bring it about that such equality of opportunity shall be given. The object of a real lover of his country is so to conduct his business "as to live and let live," to benefit him and all. It is only the traitor who aims to destroy his competitors, to get what belongs to others, to impoverish the consumer, so that after him follows a train of misery because of the lessened purchasing power of

the community. Every "good bargain," because it is at the same time a bad bargain for one of the parties, leaving him poorer, is inimical to the welfare of the state To the extent to which "good bargains" prevail, the country is injured. "Good bargains" are the negation of justice.

Life is will cast into the mould of ideas, it has been said. It is of greatest importance that the child is given the right ideas concerning the relation of business to the state. Then if later the time comes when his own selfish interests demand that the laws be broken or new ones made favorable to him and unjust to the whole, or opportunity occurs to exploit the commonwealth and even humanity itself, or to cheat the customer, or crush competitors, he will instantly find the right word for such actions, which is "treason."

The Inhibitory Force of the Right Idea

If the old ideas that "business is no Sunday school," "business is business," "business is sacred" control him, then he is lost. He is saved only by the inhibitory force of the right idea, the right name, as Professor James points out.

A powerful reinforcement to right action in this field is right feeling, and that can only come by inspiring the child with the ideals of democracy. Largely to the degree in which his enthusiasm is kindled with the ideal of brotherhood, "each for all and all for each," in which the passion for justice and the vision of the equality that should be take entire possession of him, will he act upon the idea that private business is a public trust, that beyond and above business is the state, that the man who, for business, breaks the laws or injures his fellow men, is immeasurably a worse criminal than the petty offender who steals bread or jewelry.

Right Feeling Leads to Right Action

Ruskin's illustration of the crystals is excellent to show the effect of selfishness in business, the disregard of community rights. If one crystal breaks the laws of the crystal brotherhood, and presses upon the others, it itself

becomes distorted and the others are crowded, twisted, shrunken, none attaining their normal development. Examples of groups of crystals obeying and disobeying the laws of crystal brotherhood should be shown. They symbolize the truth that all wrong is social wrong, that every business whose interest is placed before that of the whole blights the common welfare, attacking society and especially its weakest members.

Parties Are Means to an End

Public welfare is the object of parties, parties being but means to secure that end. When party leaders ask that voters sacrifice the public welfare to the interests of party, that they "save the party," they set party above the public welfare, they make it its own object. To make party an end is like making a locomotive an end, keeping it in the round-house to be worshiped by its attendants. Parties are simply machinery to do one thing, to minister to the public good.

Significance of "Save the Party"

"Save the party" generally means save the leaders' interests, save the spoils of office. For it is only partisans, who wish a snug office for the salary and perquisites attached, or who wish to keep for their private advantage the favor of those who want special privileges, that raise the cry. To the degree in which the cry is used instead of arguments to persuade and convince that the principles avowed by the party are best for the public welfare, is the selfish interest of the one or a few considered instead of the interest of the many. "Save the party" is ever the slogan of those who are in politics for what they get out of it, not for what they put in.

Party organization was originally intended only for national purposes. It is now dragged into local affairs of states and municipalities. All public action has become involved in partisan politics. Measures for the public good are not considered frankly on their merits. They are considered with reference to the party interests, to the winning of a prospective election, to the defeat of the other party.

The issues of national elections have nothing to do with those of local elections. The opinions of a man as to the Philippines or the tariff have nothing to do with his fitness to serve as alderman when streets are to be lighted, paved, or sewered, when franchises are to be granted and great revenues handled for the public welfare. The folly of considering party connections in local elections can be shown by reference to the methods of business firms. When a big firm or corporation engages its superintendents and managers, its minor officials and working men, it pays no attention to party affiliations. It simply hunts for fitness—honesty and efficiency. So in the largest and most important of all corporations, that of the municipality or state, fitness alone should be considered. To hand over the control of princely revenues, the solution of economic and social problems, the management of enterprises that affect the welfare of all, to men notoriously unfit, merely because they are party nominees, is suicidal.

National Politics and Local Elections

Loyalty to party, where men in large numbers blindly and thoughtlessly vote the party ticket, is behind the power of the political boss, a man who often does not hold any office, yet who, through his control of a vast number of votes, is clothed with almost imperial power. For instance: the people of a certain city voted to substitute a system of rapid transit for the antiquated one from which they were suffering. The newspapers immediately began to inquire what Mr. —— would say, whether he would allow the change! This man held no office, yet he was the absolute dictator!

The Real Power of the Political Boss

There must be parties, and there must be "party organizations to maintain an honorable party policy and to promote an administration of government in the interest of the people." Devotion to party is right, is necessary, when it does not conflict with patriotism. The good of the whole transcends the good of a part. Party loyalty, therefore, does not require blind adherence or support

of policy or men that would subvert public welfare. "To kick" when the principles are not right, "to scratch" when the nominees are unfit, "to bolt" when the party ticket does not voice the real party conscience—that is no partyism, but it is patriotism.

Owing to the delicacy of the subject, and the entanglement of the schools themselves in partisan politics, not much can be done in this connection in the schoolroom. The main thing is to exalt mental independence, to urge the child to be himself, to think for himself, to follow no man, obey no cry, unless he can do so conscientiously after due thought and consideration of the public welfare. The next thing is to exalt the exercise of sovereignty through the ballot. To follow blindly the dictates of party is not only to disfranchise one's self, but it is to abdicate sovereignty, to become a subject; it is to be owned, not to own one's self. The fact may also be pointed out that usually it is the independent voter, the man who "scratches," that holds the balance of power, that decides elections. They who blindly follow party year after year do not count.

Exalt Mental Independence

The distinction between partyism and patriotism may be drawn. The word "party" is derived from the Latin *pars*, meaning part. The very word implies that it is only a part of the nation. "Patriotism" is derived from *patria,* fatherland; the whole, not a divided fatherland. These meanings should be emphasized that party may not be confused with the state; nor partyism, love of party, with patriotism, love of fatherland. A partisan is of a part, not of the whole. He loses sight of his community, of his country and his duty to them, and thinks only of his party. But the sole object of a democratic state is to promote the interest of the whole, not of a part.

Distinction Between Partyism and Patriotism

The real function of parties should be pointed out. Their duty is not to fight one another to get into office, but to present the two sides of the shield, the two sides of every question. Shall the street be paved with brick

or asphalt? Shall the rate for gas be a dollar or eighty-five cents? Shall the city manage its waterworks or lease them? The function of parties is to supplement each other. Consideration of which plan best subserves the public welfare is the only factor that should determine the party one votes with.

Especially when a man is elected to office must party be forgotten. When in office he is not an official of the party that nominated him, nor of the majority who elected him, but of the whole. He holds his office as a trustee for the whole people, not for a part. The place, the authority, the opportunity, are not the private property of a party any more than of an individual. And he who gives his country best service best serves his party. He who places his party first, not only hurts his country, but also his party, which is discredited in the eyes of men.

A Trustee for All the People, Not for a Party

Quotations

Party spirit is the madness of many for the gain of a few.—*Alexander Pope.*

* * *

Stand for something, not merely against something.—*Ex-Governor Folk.*

* * *

Whether republican or democrat, be first of all American.

* * *

He serves his party best who serves his country best.—*Ex-President Hayes and Ex-Governor Folk.*

* * *

Not party but country.

* * *

Not party loyalty but civic loyalty.

* * *

Kicking never kills a party, for a party never dies. And if it should die, then it ought to die, for it is evidently dead, decayed.

These savage, wolfish parties alarm me. Owning no law but their own will, more or less combative, less and less and less tolerant of the idea of ensemble and of equal brotherhood, the ever-arching American ideas, it behooves you to convey yourself implicitly to no party, nor submit blindly to their dictators, but steadily hold yourself judge and master over all of them.—*Walt Whitman.*

* * *

So they march in percession and git up hooraws
An' tramp thru the mud for the good o' the cause,
An' think they're kind o' fulfilling the prophecies
Wen they're only jest changin' the holders of offices;
Ware A sot before, B is comf'tably seated,
One humbug's victorious an' t'other defeated.
Each honnoble doughface gits jest wot he axes,
An' the people—their annool soft-sodder an' taxes.

—*Lowell.*

CHAPTER VI

RIGHTS OF CITIZENS: DUTY OF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.—*Declaration of Independence.*

MAN thinks. Without the faculty of thought, he is not man. Hence opinion is absolutely free. Law has only to do with acts. Hence, while a man's opinion is absolutely free of dictation or control, and no one has the right of persecution or intolerance, yet the moment the opinion expresses itself in action contrary to the public good, the state may interfere. Laws, again, have only to do with relations between man and man. Religion has to do with man's relations to his God. Hence a man's religion is absolutely free of dictation or control. This right is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

Freedom of Conscience

Through labor man expresses himself. He puts himself into his work. The right to work is also involved in the right to live, since only through labor can man live. Labor is necessary for his physical, moral, and spiritual development. The right is also conferred by citizenship. Only through the fruits of labor can the citizen attain the modest competency which is the fundamental condition of the independent spirit which true citizenship must possess.

Freedom of Labor

Because labor is the expression of the individual, it must be absolutely free. The rights of expression are inviolable. Slavery, peonage, or any social or industrial system that creates a poverty which prevents independence in labor, is a violation of the right. Freedom of

contract is possible only between equals. An industrial system that, through the poverty it engenders, lessens the laborer's independence so that he is in reality forced to accept the compensation offered, in order to sustain the life of himself and family, violates this sacred right. Without equality there is no freedom of labor, and just contracts are impossible between free and subject.

Man is by nature a social animal. Only through society does he exist and progress. Association is necessary owing to the laws of his being. It is also a right conferred by citizenship. Only by association can civil and political rights be obtained and maintained. The individual alone is powerless against the encroaching or entrenched wrong. Only through numbers can the weak find strength to resist usurpation of their rights. "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately," said Franklin.

Freedom of Association

This right, like all others, is limited by justice. All states make unlawful any association which interferes with the rights of others and of society. Such a combination is called conspiracy, and the conspiracy is committed when such a combination has been entered into, though no further combined act may have taken place.

To protest against wrong is a right inherent in man's moral nature. It is also a right inherent in democratic citizenship. Democracy is the rule of public opinion, and this can be formed only through criticism and protest. Again, the officeholders are simply the administrative order, the agents of the people. The sovereignty of the people, and the mere act of employing, include the right of watchfulness and protest. It is the universal neglect to exercise this right that gives rascality its innings in business, government and society. This right is embodied in the first amendment to the Constitution.

Right to Protest

To express one's thoughts is a natural right, because attached to the attribute of personality. No one has a right to restrain the expression of proper thought. The

expression is the act of communion between the soul of man and his fellows, rendered necessary by his social nature. No authority has the right to disturb one's communion with his fellow men. Communion is the one sole means of progress. What a man thinks, discovers, or invents, he passes on, by communion, to his fellows and descendants, and it forms the basis of their advance.

The right of free speech, notwithstanding its incorporation in the Bill of Rights attached to state constitutions, and in the first amendment to the Federal Constitution, is so much abridged in America by municipal ordinances that stress should be laid upon its importance and the danger of its abridgment. The effects of its denial are shown in Russia, where reform can be secured only by revolution, not evolution; in Germany, where the silly but merciless exercise of *lèse majesté* abridges the freedom of the citizens. This right of free speech must be specially guarded in democratic governments, where public opinion rules, for this can be formed only through absolute freedom of speech. Law, it should be constantly insisted, has to do only with deeds, not thoughts.

The Right of Free Speech

A little acorn grows to a big oak. A little leak in the walls grows larger until the reservoir is destroyed. A little violation of this fundamental right of free speech ends in the tyranny which prevents the discussion and abolition of great wrong. A community may be so opposed to a certain theory that it passes an ordinance forbidding a communist, a socialist, a theosophist, a Christian Scientist, or a single-tax man, to express his views. But that abridgment of the right of free speech becomes a precedent, which is the foundation for greater violations of the right, until the right is entirely destroyed, and then, when necessity arises for modification or change in laws and institutions, the people have lost their only tool to secure reform by evolution, and revolution, with its struggle, suffering, and bloodshed, is the only way out.

Danger of Abridgment of Freedom of Speech

It should become an integral part of the child's con-

sciousness that any violation of the natural rights, no matter how righteous it may seem on the special occasion, or how necessary, is but the opening wedge to ultimate tyranny.

Freedom of the Press

Communion is absolutely necessary, and free communion of minds by means of print is as necessary for the existence of civilized society, as the word of mouth for the daily intercourse of men.

In other than democratic states this right is often grievously abridged by the government. In Russia all papers and all books are vigorously censored by the government, and nothing contrary to its interests is allowed to appear. In democratic states the abridgment of the freedom comes not from government, but from private interests which, to keep the people ignorant of the real nature of their enterprises, secretly buy powerful papers outright and allow nothing unfavorable to their plans to appear in them, and through editorials mold public opinion to further their own ends; or, since newspapers at their present low price make money only through advertisements, these powerful interests control through advertising patronage the policy of papers they do not own.

Most Powerful Agent for Creation of Public Opinion

In a certain state a prominent man, engaged in a public investigation, was unable to secure the publication of his report in a single paper, and was compelled to print and circulate it at his own expense. The result of the publication of the report was the creation of a public opinion that corrected the evil.

A free press is an absolute necessity in a democratic state, for the press is one of the most powerful agents for the creation of public opinion.

A right accorded by democracy, which is based on justice and equality, is abolition of privilege. Under the forms of state which have existed for the benefit of one, or a few, those in power have granted to certain individuals, royal favorites, certain special privileges; as, for instance, in the reign of Elizabeth the monopoly in salt,

or other commodity. Different classes also have had certain privileges, for instance, ownership of land exempt from taxation (as in France before the Revolution), and possession of certain public offices. The former kind of privilege grew so odious and unjust that sovereigns were compelled to cease granting exclusive economic privileges. With the change from aristocratic to democratic states, special political privilege also disappeared. These were privileges created by government.

America has not had these forms of privilege. The government has given no individual or class a special privilege. The only special privileges granted in America have been to authors and inventors, allowing them the enjoyment of patents and copyrights for a limited time. Some hold that American tariff laws create privilege, but that is a mooted question which need not be discussed here. The important point is to make it clear that what has been done in the way of economic privilege by government has been professedly in the interest of the general public, and not of any favored individual or class. Political privilege does not exist.

No Political Privilege in America

Yet privilege exists to-day in America. Instead of the dukes, counts, and lords of political privilege, America has "kings" and "barons" of economic privilege. Economic privilege affects society far more profoundly than political privilege. The barons of the Rhine, who levied toll upon the merchants passing their fords, were but pygmies in power beside the American "barons" of to-day, who levy a heavy toll from the whole nation in the consumption of necessary commodities. Privilege to-day in America exists through monopoly, and our monopolists constitute a privileged class as truly as the nobility of Europe. Classes here have an economic, not a political, basis. They owe their origin, not to special grants of authority, but either to private favoritism or to the nature of industrial society. Into the scientific definition of monopoly it is not necessary to enter. The term is gen-

Privilege as It Exists in America

erally understood to mean the control of a product by one or a few, not, necessarily, through the ownership of the whole, but of the larger part of it. Professor Richard T. Ely's classification of monopolies in "Monopolies and Trusts" is subjoined for the convenience of the reader:

A. Social Monopolies.
  I. General Welfare Monopolies.
    1. Patents, Copyrights, Trademarks.
    2. Public Consumption Monopolies (to encourage or discourage consumption).
      a. Dispensary System in North Carolina.
      b. Alcohol Monopoly in Switzerland, Sweden, etc.
    3. Fiscal Monopolies (to create revenue for treasury).
      a. Tobacco Monopoly in France.
  II. Special Privilege Monopolies.
    1. Those based on public favoritism.
    2. Those based on private favoritism.
B. Natural Monopolies.
  I. Those arising from a limited supply of the raw material, as anthracite coal, gas, etc.
  II. Those arising from properties inherent in the business, as gas-works, telephones, etc.
  III. Those arising from secrecy.

Social and Natural Monopolies

It is only necessary to add a word of explanation as to the terms "social" and "natural" monopolies. Social monopolies arise, says Professor Ely, out of social management, and are the expression of the will of society as a whole, through government, or of a section of society strong enough to impose its will upon society. Natural monopolies rest back on natural advantages as distinguished from social. But whatever its origin, the possession of the privilege gives the possessor an advantage over others, and a slight advantage always on one side is of the utmost importance and sufficient to be decisive in domination and survival.

The only monopolies that need be discussed are forms of special privilege and of natural monopoly. To illustrate the former, take the case of hack lines at a railway station. Formerly at all stations there was competition. Now at many of them railroad companies have granted to one company the sole privilege of supplying hacks. This is monopoly through private favoritism. The patron is compelled to pay fifty cents for the same service he gets elsewhere for twenty-five cents. In other words, monopoly costs him 100%. Relying now wholly upon monopoly, instead of excellence of equipment and service, to get patronage, the quality of both deteriorates instead of improving. Competing hack lines are crushed out of existence. A monopoly is formed.

Examples of Special Privilege

Or take the case of two men in the same city shipping oranges, or any other commodity, over the same railway. By private favoritism of the railway, one obtains a lower rate than the other. The favored one is thus able to sell at a lower price than the other, who loses on his goods. Two boys sell the same paper. If one gets his supply of papers at a lower rate than the other, he is able to undersell and drive the other out of business.

Under natural monopoly come, first, those resulting from a limited supply of the raw material. Anyone who gets control of a commodity of universal necessity which is limited in supply, like anthracite coal, oil, or gas, has a privilege of the utmost power. Any price can be asked, any quality produced, that will bring in the largest net returns.

When the Supply of Raw Material Is Limited

The second form of natural monopoly has its basis in inevitable arrangements in which there can be no competition. Take, for instance, street car systems. By the nature of the street only two lines can be laid, an up and down track. Competition is, therefore, impossible. If the city is divided among different lines for operating, the object of transportation, which is to bring people together, is defeated, for, when two or more companies

operate, more than one fare is required to pass from one part of the city to another. Competition thus drives people apart. This fact, coupled with the increment of gain resulting from combination, brings about the inevitable result, coalescence of the systems. For the same reasons there can be no competition in telephone systems. Inevitable arrangements also prevent competition in water-works, gas-works, electric lighting, etc. The possessors of these natural monopolies, obtained through franchises which in most instances cost nothing, have privileges whose significance and power are almost beyond the power of the human brain to conceive.

Second Form of Natural Monopoly

Public-service corporations using these natural monopolies are on a different footing legally from trading corporations, such as dry goods concerns or grocery companies, which have no public element and are not based upon public grants. A trading corporation is entitled by law to make what honest profits it can. A public-service corporation is legally entitled to no more than a fair return on its investment. This is why water is usually added, so that the public may not know the real per cent earned, as they might insist on their legal right to a reduction in price. Thus, at one time, one hundred and ten million was added outright to the volume of outstanding securities of a certain railroad, on which it must earn dividends. Stocks and bonds represent the power to levy toll upon traffic.

Why Stock Is Watered

The methods and results springing from natural monopolies arising from secrecy are so patent, and have been so thoroughly exploited in the press, that they need not be discussed here.

Great advances have been made in securing economic and industrial equality of opportunity in America. The Equal Rate Bill gives equality to all shippers in transportation. The prohibition of passes gives equality to travelers. The Pure Food Law protects all consumers alike from debased and dubious food. Individual states

are forming public utility commissions, like those of New York and Massachusetts, to study, investigate, and regulate public utility corporations.

In such discussions as these great tact is required. The task of the teacher or parent is to point out the right given by democracy to equality of opportunity, to the abolition of privilege, and to reveal the guises in which privilege presents itself. It should be the aim to paint the ideal of democracy, "a national policy free from domination by class, section or special interests, which stands for growth and development of the whole, by affording equal opportunity to all of its citizens to share in the bounty which nature has lavished upon America." It is a solemn duty to point out to the child the obligation resting upon all citizens, of constant watchfulness against the insidious encroachments of privilege; of constant adaptation of laws to meet new situations, as they arise, in the continual struggle of economic privilege and economic liberty; of resolute refusal to sell the birthright of liberty for a mess of pottage, in other words, to give away franchises by which favored individuals will gain and the community lose thousands if not millions, franchises which impose a tax, not only upon present, but future generations. Train the children to love equality, and to hate privilege, so that they will both scorn to avail themselves of it and fight against it in any form in which it may present itself.

Training for the Struggle Against Privilege

Ownership of one's labor is a natural right. Man puts himself into his labor. It is a part of him, a part of his right to his own life. This right is universally recognized, and depending upon this right is the right to what one produces. Anyone who seizes the product of another's labor is universally recognized as a thief. This is obviously true where the producer uses material which is his by a valid title of ownership, as when a boy makes a whistle and another takes it. The same principle holds good with regard to the joint product of a

Justice in Distribution of Rewards of Labor

number of associated workers, as when twenty boys are wrecked on an unknown island and they all work and cultivate the land diligently. On the natural right of ownership of one's labor is based the right to justice in the distribution of the rewards of labor.

This right is also based on another natural right. Man has capacities and faculties which must be satisfied and developed so that he may become fully man, able to fulfil the purpose for which he was created, to grow into the Divine image. On the necessity for the development of this manhood is based the right to justice in the distribution of the rewards of labor, for only through such justice can he secure the material basis—the decent sanitary home, the education, the comfort, the provision for old age, the relief from biting care—for the complete and harmonious development of all his faculties and the satisfaction of all his needs.

Necessity for the Development of Manhood

But the right has also a social basis. Society itself suffers if, through unjust distribution of the rewards of labor, any considerable section of it is unable to live decently, to marry and bring up a family in conditions of reasonable comfort and security, and to make provision for old age. Mere subsistence—mere existence just falling short of starvation—produces a race stunted in stature, morals and intelligence, and weak and degenerate physically. The high percentage of rejection for service in England's army during the Boer War, and the lowering of the physical standard of admission, show the effect upon a race of conditions that permit only a mere existence, not real living.

The Right to a Decent Living

Other sanctions of the right to a just distribution of the rewards of labor are justice and equality—the bases of democratic states.

The methods to secure this just distribution, the children need not discuss; even political economists are not agreed upon this subject. It is necessary at this time only to show the moral and social bases of the right. It may,

however, be well, by a few simple illustrations, to show the difficulty of the problem. In the case of the twenty boys wrecked on an unknown island, if fifteen of them tilled the land and the others became, respectively, carpenter, cook, weaver, tailor, shoemaker, what is the just share of each in the rewards of the labor, becomes a more complex question; which is complicated still more if the island upon which they were wrecked was not unknown, but belonged to some man either living there or on an adjacent island. If twenty men work in a factory operated by men who must pay rent for the building and interest on money borrowed, and provide elaborate machinery, the problem becomes still more complex and involves the question of wages.

Just Distribution a Difficult Problem

Wages are the remuneration of the man who sells his labor to an employer at a certain rate per unit of time, or per unit of product. His labor produces a utility which his employer sells. His wage is his share of the joint product to which he has contributed, in conjunction with the other factors of production. His wages must come out of the proceeds of his product. Wages are labor's portion of the whole national product. The employer is the distributing agent of society who gives labor its remuneration for its contribution to that product. As Prince Liechenstein once said, "Industrial labor creates a series of reciprocal relations between the society which provides it and the worker who executes it." Society has transferred the discharge of its obligations to the employer. As a social functionary he must perform his task in a manner consistent with social justice and also with social safety. Society imposes upon him the obligation to give his employees a wage that will enable them to live in comfort and security, for when the members of society fail to reach this level the existence of society is endangered.

The Employer the Distributing Agent of Society

For the employer not to pay a just wage because, if he does, he is unable to increase his personal expenditure

or better his family's social position, or because his profits will not be so large, or because he will have nothing left with which to extend business, is a gross violation of justice, for the essential needs of the laborer are subordinated to the unessential needs of the employer. Employers and employed are equal in personal worth, and their essential needs are of equal importance. Consequently, the essential needs of the one are superior to the unessential needs of the other—the employees' needs of the requisites for a decent, comfortable living are superior to the employer's need of the elegances and superfluities of living.

Employees' Needs Come Before Employer's Luxuries

Next may be discussed the so-called natural rights, natural because so fundamental and essential that they are universally considered as belonging to man as man, inherent in personality. They are also called personal rights. Where these rights are defined, established and protected by law, they constitute civil rights, and the condition of civil liberty obtains. The core of these rights is protection of the individual—protection from the state, which up to the nineteenth century consisted, in most European countries, of the rule of the many by the one or the few. France had few civil rights before the French Revolution. England's history has been one long struggle for them. Civil liberty is not political liberty. Civil liberty is based on the inherent nature of man. Political liberty originates in the state. Almost all states have obtained both, or at least the form of both. As many of these rights have also a basis in citizenship, that should also be discussed.

Rights Inherent in Personality

Life being an immediate gift of God, the right to it is inherent by nature in every individual. "I am; therefore, I have a right to be." The right to life, however, does not confer upon the individual the right to do as he pleases with his life, for he is not merely an individual but a component part of the state. Hence, the state has an interest in his life. The individual, therefore, may

not wantonly destroy his life, but he may expose it for the good of others, as in cases of fire, flood, and times of peril, or the state may compel him to risk it as a soldier in time of war or riot, or take it away by due process of law when he commits a criminal violation of duty to the state. The "inalienable right" to life of the Declaration of Independence means that life cannot be taken away except by due process of law.

Personal Liberty a Fundamental Right

By personal liberty is meant the right to control one's own actions, for one's own advantage, under the general rules of justice. It refers especially to the right of movement, changing one's situation or moving one's person, without imprisonment or material restraint except by due process of law. It is a most fundamental right, because secret confinement of person, being less public, less striking, is a favorite weapon of arbitrary government, and a successful one because the circumstances are so soon forgotten or so easily concealed altogether. Russia imprisons without any process of law; France, under the later monarchy, whisked men away to prison by *lettres de cachet* without due process of law. In some American states, the right is violated by the statute holding witnesses to a criminal violation of law in duress pending the trial. The injustice is here aggravated when the criminal himself is released on bail. Another common violation of this right results from the law's long delay. To guard this right the writ of habeas corpus is established.

The Right to Education

The right to life involves the right of making that life full and complete, the right to be all that man may become. Development is obtained through education. Through education man's resources are organized, his powers developed, and he acquires control over himself and over nature. Through it he becomes fitted to his environment and attains the stature of manhood.

It is a right also involved in citizenship. To take a wise part in public activities, to help, not hinder, the co-operative life, the individual must have knowledge and

skill, sound habits, conscience to distinguish between right and wrong, and will to resist the wrong and do the right. Above all he must know the principles on which his state is based, its aims and purposes. Especially in democratic countries must education be given the citizens, for equality can exist only among those who start from a common ground, a common principle, and a uniform consciousness and knowledge of duty.

The Right to Comfort

The right to comfort is involved in the right to live. As the state denies the man the right to destroy his life, so far the state confers upon him the right to a decent living, and it must so organize opportunity that he can, through his labor, secure that comfort which makes him independent and life worth living. Living is not mere existence. To say of men that they have not starved is not to say that they have lived. Living means living the life of man.

The right to comfort is involved in citizenship. To possess rights is not to be a citizen. To be a citizen one must exercise his rights. The indispensable condition for the life of genuine citizenship is personal independence—a comfortable home, a healthy life, freedom from the cares of poverty and the fear of the future. Only the independent man, the man who has, at least, a modicum of competency, is free to show the stuff that is in him, to be a free man. "Without this modest competency civil and political rights are form, not reality; shadows, not substance."

The Right to Property

Man must ever express his thought or represent the feeling that moves him. The sight of a beautiful landscape, or interesting face, moves to thoughts and feelings which a painter expresses in a picture. So a building expresses the thoughts and feelings of the architect or owner. Hammers, chairs, even saltcellars, may so express personality that the worker is known at once from the product—a Maydole hammer, a Sheraton chair, a Cellini saltcellar.

This application of man's individuality to external things constitutes property. To be a man he must labor, and the product of that labor, being a part of himself, is his own. The right to property is the right to one's self. A man has the right to use his property as he chooses, with due regard to the rights of others. There is hardly any right more essential to man, yet none which calls for more regulation by the state, because selfish nature prompts to the acquisition of the products of other men's labor. But regulations which further the general welfare are never really injurious to the individual, and thus these regulations do not violate the right.

The Product of Man's Labor Is a Part of Himself

Man exists. Therefore, his life has scope and aim. What they are he knows not. But whatever they be, they can be reached only through the development and satisfaction of his capacities, which is happiness. Man is not fully man until he has attained happiness, happiness which is a very different thing from pleasure or blessedness. Happiness is the condition that results from the development and satisfaction of the faculties and capacities of man, and their use in the purpose for which, so far as he knows, he was created—the uplift of humanity. To contribute to the welfare and progress of humanity, when coupled with the fullest development and expansion of the individual life—this is happiness; this is man's highest right and cannot be denied.

The Right to Happiness

Care should be taken not to emphasize individualism. Society does not exist, the state does not exist, nor man himself, for the development of the individual. They each and all exist for the development of the whole. Man's happiness comes through the development of his social self, the self developed through participation in public activities. Life, conducted simply with reference to the individual himself, defeats its own end. Men who spend their lives in search of amusement or wealth finally find that they have no capacity for happiness.

"Each worker," says Edwin Markham, "ought to have three things in his life—Bread, Beauty, and Brotherhood. A mere bread-existence does not develop the soul. The social problem, then, is the problem how to organize life so that each honest worker shall have the material and social resources for living a complete life. A complete life—this is the ideal that we must strive to attain for ourselves, and for others."

Bread, Beauty, and Brotherhood

Magistrates take an oath to enforce the laws and perform the duties of their office. The real nature of the oath, not a mere empty rite but a solemn promise, facing God and man, should be emphasized. Not only his oath, however, binds him, but the nature of the office which he has taken upon himself. Honor and duty call for the faithful performance of its duties, no matter at what personal sacrifice to himself. Much more than the captain of a vessel is the magistrate under compulsion to stand by the ship of state in stress. When a vessel is wrecked, only those on board and their relatives are affected. But when a magistrate fails to perform his duties efficiently and honorably, the evil results may be widespread, affecting the whole body politic. Besides the results spoken of elsewhere—misgovernment and maladministration often killing as many people in the course of a year as are killed in the course of many wars, poisoning men, women and children by means of dirty streets and filthy tenements—every law not enforced creates disrespect for law, which is the greatest civil evil in democracy.

The Oath of Magistrates

All laws, no matter how harsh, how unjust, must be enforced by the executive officers. The only proper course is, as President Grant said, to enforce unjust laws so strictly that the people will cause them to be repealed. This is the only method that will not create disrespect for law. Many laws are placed upon the statute books, in obedience to the demands of a clamorous section or class, that do not voice either the general sentiment or public

opinion. The very essence of law is that it should be the expression of the opinion of a majority, not a minority. But so long as legislators think an easy way to get rid of importunate pleaders is by passing laws which they think will remain dead letters, the practice will continue. With the motives, however, for passing the law, no matter how cowardly and unworthy, the magistrate has nothing to do. It is his function to enforce it. He has no option, no discretion. The law may wreak injustice, it may be inimical to the welfare of the whole, may be contrary to the views of the great majority; he has nothing to do with that. It is his sole duty to enforce the laws, not to make nor interpret.

The Magistrate Must Enforce Law

Furthermore, aside from all other obligations there is the supreme one, to enforce laws in order that law itself be respected, that American citizens be taught to regard law as the English and the Germans do, as something to be obeyed. Contrast the reverence for law shown among these nations, and that shown by two wealthy Americans who started out on an automobile jaunt with a hundred dollars to pay the fines for speeding, and chuckled on their return that they had only had to pay out thirty dollars—note their lack of reverence for law and the cowardice and weakness of the officials dealing with them.

As mayors, sheriffs, constables, governors or other executive officers, boys of to-day later must enforce laws at the cost of their office, perhaps, of their political future—not that such loss has no terror, but that disgrace, the brand of cowardice, has greater terrors. Carefully avoiding reference to any local or even state condition, the teacher or parent may, by using events in other states or localities, lead children to scorn any officeholder who will not put as much courage into the performance of his duties as is required in actual warfare. Stories illustrating high courage of men in office (and America is full of such stories now) should be frequently recounted. There is no greater field for the display of the

High Calling of the Officeholder

highest courage and honor than the field of official-dom, and this truth should be painted to the children in alluring colors. The correlative truth, that in no field is the streak of cowardice yellower, the stigma of disgrace and dishonor blacker, should also be drawn vigorously.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right;
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

—*Lowell.*

CHAPTER VII

GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

It may pass for a maxim in state, that the administration cannot be placed in too few hands nor the legislation in too many.
—*Dean Swift.*

No government can be free that does not allow all its citizens to participate in the formation and execution of the laws. Any other government is a despotism.—*Thaddeus Stevens.*

THE government in a democracy is of the people, by the people and for the people. The people are the government. In a pure democracy the people themselves enact the laws. Pure democracy is possible, however, only in a small state, or a state not highly developed commercially and industrially. There was pure democracy among the early Greeks and Teutons. As the free Teutonic peoples spread over lands and prospered, the problems of government became too numerous and complicated for the people to consider and determine in the general gatherings. Then representative or delegated government was developed, first among the Anglo-Saxons in the courts of the hundred and the shire and afterward in the national government. This system has now been introduced into all the states of Europe, and has been copied by America, Australia, China and Japan. In representative democracy delegates are elected to represent the people; in other words, the people delegate their powers, subject to instruction, to their representatives. The reservation of the right to instruct is involved in the election of representatives, for, unless the candidates pledge to obey instructions, why should the voters elect them?

Pure Democracy and Representative Democracy

In Switzerland, the right to instruct at will was superseded by an improved form of the direct vote system, namely, a veto power through the referendum and a direct initiative by petition. In the United States, the voter's right to instruct at will (in town meetings in the North and mass meetings elsewhere), recognized in the constitutions of seventeen states and implied in the others, was succeeded by the convention system, which had its rise between 1821 and 1832. In its beginning this system was a vast improvement, in the nomination of candidates for state and national offices, over the legislative and congressional caucuses. The delegates were fresh from the people and obeyed instructions. But the system very quickly degenerated. Each convention, through its platform, promised the voters what its candidates would do if elected. The voters in each party finally came to rely upon the convention to demand the needed legislation, and ceased to instruct by direct vote. And when they relinquished this right, the convention, or, rather, the party managers—in other words, the party "machine"—became sovereign. Men seeking legislation for their own interests now sought and obtained control of conventions by various corrupt means.

The Convention System

In course of time the convention system was still farther removed from the voters, by the provision that delegates to the state and national conventions should be elected, not by the people, but by delegates, who, in turn, were elected by other delegates, who alone were elected by the people. This indirect method caused the voter to lose interest in politics. He could vote upon candidates selected by the conventions, but had no power to instruct or to nominate. By 1844 the national convention system had become so bad that Calhoun withdrew from the race for the presidential nomination in his party, saying, in an address issued to the people: "I hold it impossible to form a scheme more perfectly calculated to annihilate the control of the people over a presidential election, and

Degeneracy of the Convention System

vest it in those who make politics a trade, and who live, or expect to live, on the government." Since then the system has continued to grow more debased and autocratic. In 1904, the national convention of one party seated delegates who were appointed against the will of the state convention, and the national convention of the other great party rejected delegations without examining their credentials. The unit rule, obtaining in some states, debases the system into a farce. The degeneracy of the convention system reached its lowest level in 1912 when the seating of illegally chosen delegates caused a large portion of those lawfully elected to break away from the Republican national convention held in Chicago and nominate a separate ticket. The people expressed their displeasure by giving the Republican nominee only eight electoral votes. The rebuke at the polls was followed by radical reforms, among them being a reduction in the representation from Southern states where the Republican vote had always been small.

The Republican Revolt in 1912

Their lost power is being gradually regained by the people, through the establishment of what is called guarded representative government. This is a system in which the electorate employ representatives and retain the power to instruct, or the power to veto and direct legislation. In other words, the final power is in the voters, and their sovereignty is guarded. In guarded representative government the voters make their own nominations for many offices through the direct primary; and instruct by direct vote upon public questions—the initiative and referendum.

Lost Power Gradually Regained by People

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

By the referendum the people can veto the measures passed by their representatives if unsatisfactory. It has two forms, the compulsory and the optional. Measures subject to compulsory referendum cannot become law until approved by direct vote of the people. In almost

all the states proposals to amend the constitution, and a few other important measures, are subject to compulsory referendum. By optional referendum, other measures passed by legislatures can be decided by the people by direct vote. The state constitution is amended so as to provide that for a certain specified period after the legislature adjourns, a small proportion of the voters, usually between five and ten per cent, can demand that one or more of the bills passed shall be put to a direct vote by the people. Measures ordered to a referendum vote do not become laws until approved by a majority vote.

Two Kinds of Referendum

By the referendum the people exercise the veto power. Through the initiative they enact new legislation. A small proportion of voters, from five to ten per cent, can propose bills or constitutional amendments, which, after a suitable time for campaign, are put to direct ballot by the people, and the will of the majority becomes law.

The initiative and referendum make for real representative government, by restoring to the people the power to initiate needed reforms and to pass ultimate judgment upon legislative acts. To define them simply, they are merely the right of the people to have the final word for their own government. They are two of the factors that are aiding to supplant the sham democracy by the real democracy, a government by the people.

Supplanting Sham Democracy by Real Democracy

It has been objected to the initiative and referendum that more centralized authority, though safeguarded by direct responsibility to the people, is un-American. In perfect accord with the spirit of the initiative, the referendum and the recall, is the popular election of United States senators, now provided for by the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is interesting to note that such election of senators was long ago provided for by a clause in the Constitution of Massachusetts adopted before the Federal Convention assembled. This clause, drafted by John Adams, certainly an American, stands to the present day:

"The people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good, give instruction to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by the way of addresses, petitions or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them and of the grievances they suffer."

In the Constitution of Massachusetts

Much of this provision, based upon the unquestioned prerogatives of the Colonists for many years, was incorporated in the first amendment to the Constitution, which formed, with the succeeding nine amendments, the Bill of Rights. A difference of opinion exists as to the extent of that earlier power of public opinion, but there is no question that the real innovation came when the power of government passed from the people to the representatives.

COMMISSION PLAN OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Municipal government in the United States is, in general, modeled upon that of the national government, with an executive head and a legislative department composed, sometimes, of two branches, and all the machinery that accompanies this form. This system has very serious defects, which make it totally out of harmony with real representative government. By its system of ward representation, the city council is not elected by the people of the city. The council men are selected by the voters of small districts. In a city of eight wards, the people vote upon one-eighth of the council body. Consequently, not one of the councilmen is under a special commission from the people to perform any special work, or bound to the people by any special obligation. The people, it is true, elect a mayor, but his duty is, in the main, simply to preside over the council. Sometimes he has the veto power.

Serious Defects in City Government in United States

The result of the system is a lack of concentration of authority and the absence of responsibility. If the council is blamed, they throw the responsibility upon the park

board, who, in turn, throw it upon the board of public works or the chief engineer. Especially where there are two branches of the council, between the upper and lower house, each jealous for its prerogatives, or bribed by rival interests, deadlocks prevail to such an extent as to destroy what little efficiency might possibly result from such a cumbrous system. In any case the present municipal system deprives the people of all power to secure direct action upon measures demanded by the public welfare, or to fix responsibility for failure in government.

The Government of a City Is a Business Proposition

The idea underlying the commission form of municipal government, now being adopted in many cities, is that the government of a city is a purely business proposition. It consists, as the citizens of Des Moines say, in enforcing ordinances, laying pavements and sidewalks, constructing sewers, looking after parks, supplying pure water, and overseeing those practical things which have little to do with human liberty, but much to do with making life safe, healthful and joyous. The municipality is, in short, a corporation doing an immense and complicated business, which should be carried on upon purely business principles. Based upon this idea, the commission form, or the Des Moines or Galveston plan, as it is variously called, fashions the city government after the government of a corporation, having a board of directors who are responsible to the stockholders. Four or five men are elected as mayor and commissioners. They represent the whole city, there being no ward representation. Each man takes a particular department in his charge. By this system it is possible to find out who is responsible and to locate blame.

Good results are already apparent in the cities trying the system, in the way of an improved city, lower taxes, greater efficiency, and the disappearance of the ward boss and bitter political feuds. As the plan is still in the experimental stage, the details vary in the different cities. The following is the plan adopted by the people

of Haverhill, Massachusetts. It is to have non-partisan primaries and a governing board consisting of a mayor and four commissioners with equal voting power, the mayor having no veto power. The initiative, referendum and recall are provided for. All subordinate officers are to be elected by majority vote of the five commissioners. All business of the commission is to be transacted publicly. Monthly bulletins of receipts and expenditures are required, as well as an annual report. No expenditure of $2,000 or over can be made, except in emergencies, without first giving a week's notice to the taxpayers. This last provision meets the objection in the commission plan, that it unites the voting of money and the expenditure of it in one set of men, the separation of these powers being regarded as one of the bulwarks of liberty.

The Plan of Haverhill, Massachusetts

The objection to the commission plan, that the concentration of power is dangerous to democracy, is answered by a paragraph in one of ex-President Roosevelt's messages to Congress: "The danger to American democracy lies not in the least in the concentration of administrative power in responsible and accountable hands. It lies in having the power insufficiently concentrated, so that no one can be held responsible to the people for its use. Concentrated power is palpable, visible, responsible, easily reached, quickly held to account. Power scattered through many administrators, many legislators, many men who work behind and through legislators and administrators, is impalpable, is unseen, is irresponsible, cannot be reached, cannot be held to account. . . . Democracy is not in peril from any man who derives authority from the people, who exercises it in sight of the people, and who is from time to time compelled to give an account of its exercise to the people."

No Danger in Concentration of Administrative Power

RECALL

The recall gives to the people the same right to supplant an elective officer who has disappointed them that

the people's servants, the public officials, have to discharge an appointive officer "for the good of the service." The recall is merely a provision for a special election to determine whether a certain officer shall be re-elected, instead of waiting for a general election to determine whether the people still desire his services. The recall, or the power to oust an unfaithful or incompetent officer, is one of the most effective methods by which to maintain control over public officials.

The Recall in Oregon

The recall provision, as adopted in Oregon, provides that any officer in the state, from governor down to constable, may be called to account by a special election upon a petition of twenty-five per cent of the voters of his electoral district. Upon the filing of such a petition, the officer may resign or he may stand for re-election, and other candidates may file for election also. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes takes the office. When a recall is attempted, a sample ballot shall be distributed, on which shall be printed the reasons for demanding the officer's recall, and also the officer's justification of his course—neither argument to contain more than two hundred words.

New Conditions Call for New Safeguards

The initiative, referendum and recall are of special service in municipal governments. They meet a need that did not exist when the system of municipal government in common use was framed. The enormous franchise prizes sought by public-service corporations did not exist a half century ago. Since the incentive to control councils and officials was largely absent, the municipal government did not require the safeguards that are essential to-day. The councilmen of those days were not subjected to modern temptations. The advent of the powerful public-service corporations necessitates these methods of popular control of the people's representatives as an efficient check on bribery and corruption.

One of the advantages of the initiative, referendum and recall lies in the fact that they can be made to cut down

the number of elections. With the power to direct official acts and to oust public officers if unfaithful to their trust, the people can give their representatives in legislative bodies and executive positions longer terms of office. With longer terms city officials would have the time and the experience necessary to efficient administration, and thus in two ways the cost of city government would be materially reduced.

Cutting Down the Number of Elections

PROPORTIONAL OR MINORITY REPRESENTATION

Through the system of majority representation that at present obtains, a large part of the electorate is deprived of representation in the legislative bodies—city, state and national. If, for instance, a city has a council of twelve members, and there are 24,000 votes cast, of which the Republicans cast 12,001 and the Democrats 11,999, then the twelve councilmen are Republicans, although their party cast only two more votes than the other. If the election is by wards instead of at large, the minority in each ward is unrepresented. The minorities in all the wards, amounting, perhaps, to a little less than half of the entire electorate, have no participation in governing. But in the council referred to a measure may pass by a vote of seven to five; that is, it is passed by the representatives of little more than a fourth of the people. In this fact lies one of the reasons why the referendum so often reverses the action of a legislative body. Such a system of representation is manifestly unjust, frequently depriving, as it does, nearly half of the people of any share in governing. For years the Republicans in Texas and the Democrats in Kansas were unrepresented in Congress.

Injustice of Majority Representation

The remedy proposed is minority representation, representation proportioned among the parties according to the number of votes cast. In the city with 24,000 votes and twelve councilmen, the unit is 2,000. The Republicans and Democrats would each secure six councilmen. If some other party, as the Independent, had a ticket and

the result stood as follows: Independents 10,000, Democrats 8,000 and Republicans 6,000 votes; then, the unit being 2,000, the Independents would elect five men, the Democrats four and the Republicans three. In other words, each party secures as many councilmen as its vote represents twelfths. All the electorate is represented in the legislative body, and when a measure is passed by a majority vote, it represents at least the desires of a little more than half the voters, which is the real "majority rule" idea. Under this system, all of the people of a state would be represented in Congress. Where the city government has the commission form, the system has no place. But for state and national legislatures, and councils, it is the only just system.

Plan of Minority Representation

One great difficulty in any election is to secure a representative vote. In one Western city recently only a third of the voters, and in another only half of those qualified to vote, exercised their privilege. The records of one state reveal that once only one in fourteen of her electorate voted. Ordinarily, however, about three-fourths of the voters will register and only about three-fourths of these will cast their ballots. The difficulty is an ancient one. Even the Pilgrim Fathers experienced it and resorted to fines as a penalty.

The system of majority representation has, undoubtedly, much to do with "general apathy." Men of the dominant party are careless about voting, because "the party will win anyway," and those of the opposite party stay away from the polls because "there's no use anyway." The system of minority representation not only will remedy the injustice, but will, it is believed, cure much of this indifference.

Curing "General Apathy" and Indifference

James Bryce, the English authority on American institutions, has suggested that in the national presidential election the electoral vote of a state should be proportioned among the different candidates, according to the number of votes cast for them. Thus, if a state has eight

votes in the electoral college, the Republican candidate receiving one-fourth of all the votes cast, and the Democratic candidate three-fourths, then one-fourth of the electors in the electoral college should cast their ballots for the Republican candidate and the others cast theirs for the Democratic. The advantages of the plan of the English ambassador are so many that it is being widely approved. It is a just and logical extension of the principle of proportional or minority representation.

These different methods to restore sovereignty to the people should be taught, not only orally, but also by concrete object lessons. They are easy to work out dramatically, except the commission form of government. To show the different systems of representation, for instance, divide the school into two parties, X and Y. Then have an election for councilmen. The dominant party elects all their candidates. Then have an election by wards, each row of seats being a ward, the dominant party in some rows being X and in others Y. After either election, have the councilmen elected come forward, and then ask those in the seats who are represented by them to stand. In order to make the injustice as striking as possible, care should be taken to make the parties nearly equal. Now, have the council sit in session and pass some measure by a small margin, and then have those in the seats represented by the affirmative vote stand. Now, hold the election by the proportional system. Say the school, for illustration, has forty-five pupils. If nine councilmen are to be elected, then thirty X votes will give the X party six and fifteen Y votes the Y party three councilmen. Then proceed as before. The injustice of the one method, and the justice of the other, will be deeply impressed upon the children's minds. The initiative and referendum, even the recall, can be worked into this civic play.

Value of Concrete Object Lessons, or Civic Play

As to the form of government, whether the present system or the commission form, the need of promptness,

honesty and efficiency in municipal administration should be emphasized and illustrated by concrete facts. Take, for instance, New York City, typical of all our cities in municipal maladministration. The budget in that city for a single year was one hundred and forty million dollars: money paid by the people in taxes to protect them against economic and social conditions that threaten their welfare, to provide things that make for morality, to relieve sickness and distress, to educate the young, and to contribute to the public welfare and happiness. It is estimated that of these taxes from thirty to fifty millions are diverted from their proper use: Twenty millions lost in the pay roll through idleness, inefficiency and direct fraud; seven millions, or half of that spent on supplies and materials, wasted; twenty millions paid out as interest and redemptions on a debt for which the city never received anything. It is also estimated that the city is deprived of not less than five millions of its revenue through the same organized graft.

Typical Municipal Maladministration

All this fraud and inefficiency increase taxes. In London, under the rule of the County Council, perhaps the most competent administrative body in the world, the police force costs each inhabitant ten cents a year. In New York the cost is $1.35 per inhabitant. With increased taxes come increased rents. With increased rents the price of retail goods goes up and the cost of living is increased.

The Most Competent Administrative Body in the World

But other and greater evils result than increased taxes and increased cost of living. There is the loss entailed through sickness and death from preventable diseases, from preventable industrial accidents, from preventable living in unsanitary tenements, in dark and crowded rooms, from preventable working long hours in rooms filled with fluff or dust. There is the loss of babies dying from impure milk. There is the loss in lowered vitality and decreased earning power, resulting from the germ-laden filth of the streets, adulterated foods, and vicious

living—all, all preventable by honest and expert municipal administration.

The burden comes heaviest upon the poor. Wealthy people can secure for themselves wholesome food and healthful environment. The poor must depend upon efficient administration, and the honest and expert application of public wealth to public uses.

Frequent reference should be made to German cities, where municipal administration has reached a very high development. The following paragraph from an article on "The Town Plan in Germany" suggests the points for contrast:

"The superior pleasantness of German towns, the fountains, public gardens, open spaces, quite close to the homes of the working classes; the orderliness and innocent joyousness of their open-air life; the absence of squalor and meanness and drunkenness even amid their poverty; the air of comfort and self-respect in which the German workingman appears to walk—all this is unquestionably due to the superior civic ideals which now possess the minds of the rulers of Germany. The Germans have set themselves to produce men and women . . . and are bringing to the task a science and thoroughness that forbid the name enthusiasm only because it is so determinedly in earnest."

Superior Civic Ideals of Germany

Professor Ely says of the annual report of Berlin, that it is difficult not to believe it a description of some city government in Utopia.

In England, service on city councils or administrative bodies is without pay. Englishmen, rich and poor, esteem it a privilege and honor to serve their city, to make it a better, safer, and happier place to live in. The distinguished men on the London County Council could not, by any prospect of personal pay, be induced to work half as hard for their city as they do without compensation. In Germany, on the other hand, where governmental efficiency has reached its highest development, city officials

Not a Question of Salary

are paid large salaries, have long terms of office (the mayor's term is generally twelve years with privilege of re-election), and are experts in their departments, such experts that they are called from one city to another. Such positions, giving honor, adequate emolument and permanency of tenure, call into the service of the city the highest type of men in the Empire. In both countries municipal business is rightly regarded as so enormous, and complicated, and important, that it is sheer insanity to put it in the hands of untrained men who seek office only for what they can get out of it, and not for what they can put into it.

Insanity of Trusting Municipal Business to Untrained Men

Along with insistence upon the needs of the city and the necessity for prompt, honest and efficient administration, emphasis should be laid upon the sacred obligation of citizens to serve their city willingly.

CHAPTER VIII

PATRIOTISM

He who maintains his country's laws alone is great.

—*Sir A. Hunt.*

Our country first, their glory and their pride,
Land of their hopes, land where their fathers died,
When in the right, they'll keep thy honor bright,
When in the wrong, they'll die to set it right.

—*J. T. Fields.*

SOME years ago," says ex-Governor Folk of Missouri, "in one of the great cities there was held a banquet, attended by a number of prominent business men. After the repast was over, the band played 'America,' and the audience stood and sang the familiar words. As the last strains of the song died away, one of the men, with tears trickling down his cheeks, said, 'Oh, that I could die for my country!'

A Familiar Instance

"Just three weeks after that this same man was cringing at the feet of justice, confessing that he had bribed an entire municipal assembly to purchase a railroad franchise ordinance.

"This man seemed anxious to die for his country, but his conduct showed that he had been unwilling to live for his country. He aspired to be a patriot of war, and he was, in fact, a traitor of peace. The man who lives for his country is as much a patriot as he who dies for it. There is as much patriotism in giving one's time to the improving of civic conditions, and in electing good men to office, as in baring one's breast to the bullets of the public enemy. . . . America needs patriots of peace. . . . She needs the services of every American in civic

America Needs Patriots of Peace

life. It is the everyday patriotism on which the safety of the country rests, not that which lies dormant until thrilled by flying banners and martial music. For history shows that the great republics of old—Rome, Carthage, Athens, Florence, Venice—were all overthrown through corruption in times of peace. And never did a republic need real men more than America to-day—men in public affairs, working for the public good and not for private revenue; and not alone men in public office, but men in private life—private citizens—discharging faithfully the public duties resting upon them.

Faithful Citizens as Necessary as Faithful Officials

"The faithful citizen is as necessary as the faithful official, for the greatest obstacle in the way of good government—government that represents the best there is, not the worst there is—is the inactivity of good citizens. Whenever the lawless have strength in politics, or grafters rule, it is because of the default of the law-abiding. . . . Soldiers of duty, men of courage to fight the things of evil, are the greatest need—civic soldiers, determined to stamp out the things that oppress in private life and that dishonor in public life.

"These soldiers must fight for honesty in office and honesty in business; they must fight against lawlessness, not merely lawlessness of mobs, but lawlessness by any class or business; they must fight actively and aggressively against the forces of evil, compelling and openly aiding officials to do their duty. The soldiers of peace must be as aggressive for the right as those who fight for the wrong."

Patriotism of Peace a Severe Test

"The patriotism of peace," another writes, "with society, often with your friends against you, with possible business failure before you, and the comfort of your family behind you—that is hard, but that only is patriotism. . . . It is saying that if you cannot have a law passed to help you in your business without bribing, you will not have it passed; that if you know a friend is corrupting your officials, or that your party is undermining

HON. JOSEPH W. FOLK.

the institutions of your country, you will fight—not for your friend, not for your party, but for your country—just as you would fight a foreign enemy in war when the crowd is all with you. This takes courage. . . . For the new patriotism is not that which shuts its eyes and boasts, fires rockets on the Fourth of July and fails to vote. It is that which sees the truth and faces and fights any enemy at home or abroad or in any disguise.

"America does not need men to die for it but to live for it, a more difficult sacrifice. Not men to go to the front, but men who are willing to give time and strength day by day, year by year, to the public life of the nation. . . . The patriotism taught is too exterior. The flag flies everywhere, but in this teaching the country is represented to them too generally as something to be attacked by enemies from without—of which there is perhaps little danger. The real danger is from foes within, from Americans that delegate their political duties to others. The ring, the boss, the special legislator for special interest, all have their origin in the failure of a great body of American citizens to take an active part in the political life of their country. The American vice, according to Kidd, is lack of civic self-sacrifice."

The Real Danger from Foes Within

The first thing in teaching patriotism is to fix thoroughly in the child's mind the idea, so well put by ex-President Roosevelt, that while to be ready to die for one's country in time of need is indispensable, it is even more essential that one be willing and anxious to live for the nation. But the next thing is to show what living for one's country means. The answer comprehends the whole of life. It is not bigotry and narrow-mindedness, exhibited in prejudice and conceit, in boasts and jingoism, flying flags, making spread-eagle Fourth of July speeches, singing songs, erecting monuments to the glorious dead. It is not rallying around the flag and singing "America," and then dodging taxes, corrupting councils and legislatures, and hiring the "machine" to pervert the popular

Living for One's Country

will. It is not watering stocks, stealing franchises, renting tumble-down shacks to the needy at exorbitant rates. It is not exploiting men, women and children in mill and mine and manufactory to fill one's pocketbook. It is not evading the laws that hurt one's business or affect one's pleasures. To live for one's country, then, is, first, to act in public and private upon the principles for which America stands—justice and good will. Since one's country means not merely the scenery, the mountains and valleys, the rivers and plains, but the people, the brotherhood—to live for one's country is to live fraternally. It means good will for the brotherhood in action. It is the recognition in action that the welfare of all is the interest of each, that the public good comes before the private good.

The Public Good Before the Private Good

To live for one's country is not to stay away from the polls, conventions, primaries and caucuses. It is not to abstain from discussion by tongue and pen of public interests. It is not to be swayed by certain reiterated words in newspapers, or to join the crowd in blindly following a leader. Therefore, to live for one's country is, secondly, to pay constant daily attention to the civic affairs of the community and the country, and to perform faithfully one's public duties.

Thirdly, to live for one's country is to be an aggressive fighter, to be a soldier of peace. If the duty of "making a fuss" when injustice has been perpetrated, has been inculcated in the lower grades, the children are well prepared to be instructed in the imperative duty of making a fuss over public wrongs and injustices, the duty to hate what is wrong and to oppose the wrongdoer; the duty, as John Willis Gleed puts it, "when a man has proved himself a thorough-paced scoundrel, to treat him like one, to affront him, to oppose him, to risk something, to risk all to break down his influence, to terminate his career." The children must be taught that there are good and evil in all, and that it is their duty to admire what is good, but to hate the evil and, if the man will not

When to "Make a Fuss"

sever himself from the evil, to oppose him with might and main.

In short, living for one's country, is just social living in the smallest as well as in the biggest, in the most private as well as in the most public affairs, coupled with constant devotion of time and attention to the affairs of the commonwealth. Those who live for their country actually fight real foes with the same indomitable courage and sacrificial spirit as those who lay down their lives on the field of battle. Their mottoes are, "Be sure you are right and then go ahead," and "Turn to the right and keep straight on." Since the trouble has been that law-abiding people have observed only the first half of each of these mottoes, content with having the right convictions but not going ahead unless pushed, the second half of the mottoes, the imperative duty of action, should be strongly emphasized. The soldiers of peace must go ahead without waiting for leadership or following.

Just Social Living

That which has been done to form habits of "active obedience," of fraternalism, of using justice as a guide, has contributed to the habit of living for one's country. If one is unfair to his mates on the playground, if he is haughty and arrogant, if he breaks a window or rifles a flowerbed, if he plays truant or idles his time, if he throws paper on the street, if he grafts by devoting to private use the material of school or public, he is not living for his country. Children should be shown the intimate nature of this ideal of living for one's country—how all actions must be truly social, and how the principle of democracy, all for each and each for all, must pervade all social, all business, all public life. By the time children are ready for the seventh grade they should realize that their "country" is not mere mountain and plain, river and lake, but people; and that living for one's country means living for the people, placing their interests before one's own.

Forming Habits of Fraternalism

The patriotism of men, women and children should be

judged by this test—are they living for their country? The person who throws peelings on the pavement and takes the risk of making people slip and injure themselves; the contractor who uses sham material and thus endangers the safety of multitudes; the manufacturer or grocer who adulterates his goods and thus puts death in the pot; the employer who, from motives of economy and greed for dividends, fails to adopt the safety appliances which would insure health and safety to his employees; the railway official, who, for the sake of dividends, refuses to use the devices which would insure safety to the traveling public; the gambler in Wall Street who manipulates the market so as to get the money of others without rendering an equivalent; the official elected to serve the people, who takes a bribe to betray them—all should be tried by this test of patriotism.

The Real Test of Patriotism

What it really is that gives glory to a flag should be taught. Schoolboys are likely to think that a great nation is one that can thrash other nations, and as men they still believe that the greatness of a nation lies in the extent and perfection of its military strength. A great nation also means to them a wealthy nation, no matter how that wealth has been accumulated, how used, or how distributed. They also confuse mere size with greatness. But a nation is really great only to the degree in which liberty flourishes, people are protected in their rights and are performing their duties, the same standard of morals prevails in public and private business, and public welfare is placed before private interests. A nation may have little or no army and no great wealth, but because liberty and justice flourish and the people have health, comfort and happiness, the flag is truly covered with glory and the country is great, no matter what its size.

The Real Glory of a Flag

It is very essential that girls get the idea that to them also belongs the duty of patriotism. They, too, must come to see that since "country" does not mean a pano-

rama of lake and river, mountain and plain, but men and women; that since the pledge of America is to help each human being to realize his personality—patriotism means being a neighbor to every man, woman and child, means living so that one's existence shall be a help, not a hindrance, to them. Patriotism for women means, first, a happy, well-ordered home—neatness, cleanliness, economical management, good, wholesome food well cooked, durable clothes simply made, and the careful rearing of children in the principles of justice and good will. It means, secondly, entire absence of all desire for wealth obtained by means that are unjust to others, that in any way infringe upon their right to comfort, happiness and development; and an entire absence of ostentatious living that sets a bad example, hurts the feelings of others, or produces separateness. It means, thirdly, redressing unjust laws, making beautiful unsightly places, cheering the sick, helping burdened ones. It means, lastly, exact justice in all one's domestic, business and social relations.

Patriotism of Girls and Women

Special Exercises:—Ex-Governor Folk suggests that it would be well to have pupils rise in their places each morning, and in response to the teacher's question, "How can man best serve his own interests?" give the answer, "Man serves his own best interest in promoting the common good." And it would be well to have them, at the close of each day's session, give the verses which Dr. Guthrie, the eminent Scottish divine, had hanging for so many years above his desk:

Suggested Patriotic Training

"For the right that needs assistance,
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance,
For the good that I can do."

In order that it become not mechanical, a meaningless repetition of empty words, there should be frequent individual questioning as to what rights had been assisted,

what wrongs resisted, what done for the common welfare, with corresponding approbation or regret for the answers. Much of this may be done in the home. The teacher should repeat to the pupils, at the close of the Friday session, the advice of Demosthenes to the Athenians over two thousand years ago—or it may be changed to the first person and be repeated by the children:

Advice of Demosthenes

"If you get rid, all of you, of the spirit of evasion, if each man will show himself ready to act whenever duty calls him and he can possibly render service to the state, if you are willing to depend upon no one but yourselves and will give up, each of you, hoping that he can remain idle while his neighbor does everything for him; then, I say, you will come to your own; if God will, you will recover once again the position which past indolence has thrown away."

On Labor Day, Decoration Day, Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays, when school should never be dismissed on account of the education in patriotism these days afford, the children in the lower grades should recite the prayer suggested by Francis E. Clark: "Lord, help me to do something for the dear land that has done so much for me."

On National Holidays

In the higher grades on these days the teacher should ask, "What can you do for your country? How can you make it nobler, purer, freer of every taint of corruption and from every evil political bondage?" One half of the school should answer in the words of ex-President Roosevelt: "We can do our full share of the world's honest work instead of seeking for easy places; we can help others forward instead of shouldering them aside and trampling them down." The other half should say: "We can perform every civic duty, we can give and exact the square deal in business and politics, we can take no privilege without giving back its return in service."

Or sometimes on these days, children above the second grade should recite the Civic Creed practically as written

A PARK FESTIVAL.

by Miss Mary McDowell for the young people of University Settlement, Chicago.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men and we are his children—brothers and sisters all. We are citizens of the United States, and we believe that our Flag stands for self-sacrifice, for the good of all the people. We want, therefore, to be true citizens of our country, and will show our love for her by our works.

"Our country does not ask us to die for her welfare; she asks us to live for her, and so to live and so to act that her government be pure, her officers honest, and every corner of her territory shall be a place fit to grow the best men and women who shall rule over her." A Civic Creed

On Decoration Day there should be upon the blackboard, under appropriate quotations, a list of those in the community who have, either publicly or privately, rendered distinguished service, done something heroic or self-sacrificing, or in a very clear way shown that they placed public welfare before private. Accounts of their deeds should be given by the pupils, accompanied by appropriate and reverent ceremonies by the school.

Upon the walls of every school room and of every home should hang in a neat frame these words adapted from Washington Gladden:

THIS CITY OF OURS

What might this city of ours—what might it be, what ought it to be—how clean and bright and safe and healthful; how free from everything that could hurt, or defile, or destroy; how full of everything that could minister to the comfort, and convenience, and culture, and happiness of its citizens; its laws, how wisely and impartially administered; its burdens, how equitably adjusted; its curse, how swift and deadly upon all who seek to make spoils of its revenues; its officers, how diligent, how conscientious, how self-denying in the public service; its citizens, how prompt to respond to the call of the commu- Building the Ideal

nity; its property holders, how ready each to bear his portion of the public burdens; its helpless wards, how tenderly cared for; its beggars and parasites, how sternly compelled to earn their own bread; its whole life, how instinct with justice and truth and righteousness, how vital with justice and good will! What might our city become—if we were but men, high-minded men.

Memory Lessons

Even though explained frequently and illustrated by reference to municipal life, much of this will be beyond the children of the lower grades, but they will put something into it and will gradually, as they pass through the grades and acquire the civic sense, read into it more and more meaning. The following lines should be memorized very early and frequently repeated:

If I forget thee, O city of my heart!
Let my right hand forget her cunning;
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth
If I remember thee not,
If I prefer thee not
Above my chief joy.

The first lines of the second and third stanzas of the following hymn may be changed to apply to any city:

MY CITY, 'TIS OF THEE

Air: "America"

My city, 'tis of thee,
Mighty on land and sea,
Of thee I sing.
Under broad heaven's dome,
Far though from thee I roam,
Still art thou e'er my home,
To thee I cling.

Isle where the Hudson flows,
Isle where the sea wind blows,
Of thee I sing.

To thy brave pioneers,
Who in thy early years
Held thee through blood and tears,
Homage I bring.

Mistress of all the West,
Long may thy sway be blest,
Of thee I sing.
On all thy people here,
Bestow abundant cheer;
Greater grow year by year!
This prayer I bring.

—*Albert Ullmann.*

Each home and school should have a motto that conveys the idea of service. The following are suggestive:

Ich dien—I serve.

Je maintiendrai—I will maintain. This was the device of the Princes of Holland and meant, for them, to maintain civil and religious liberty. It may mean for American youth: I will maintain right against wrong. I will maintain all that is just.

Justice and Service.

Each for all and all for each.

Citizens, not Residents.

Our mission is not to climb but to lift.

O. C. This means Opportunity Club, which being further interpreted means, "O see opportunities for doing helpful things."

Not only against wrong but to fight wrong.

Valor in time of peace.

Soldiers of peace.

Pro bono publico—For the public good.

Soldiers of the common good.

Social service.

Brothers all.

To serve, not to be served.

Fair play and team play.
Equal rights and complete justice for all.
Individually responsible, socially serviceable.

The following definitions of patriotism should be frequently repeated and illustrated by concrete examples:

Patriotism is to put intelligence and determination, even property and life, at the service of the community or nation.

Patriotism consists in so living that one's community, one's fellow men, "are a little better off, not a little worse off because one has lived."

Patriotism lies not in exploiting a country but in serving and enriching her; not in piling up enormous wealth which in statistics can be reckoned as so much per capita, but in so conducting one's business that the people have the per capita wealth.

Patriotism is not rallying round the flag but rallying around the ballot box.

Stories, Poems, Speeches, Quotations

A man in the right with God on his side is in the majority.

* * *

Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.

* * *

The men who have changed the world with the world have disagreed.—*O'Reilly.*

* * *

The noblest motive is the public good.—*Virgil.*

* * *

Many enemies, much honor.

* * *

The officer who grapples with an enemy can never be wrong.—*Lord Nelson.*

* * *

I regret that I have but one life to give to my country.
—*Nathan Hale.*

I do love my country's good with a respect more tender, more holy and profound than my own life.

—*Shakespeare.*

* * *

Who would be free themselves must strike the blow.

—*Byron.*

* * *

Better be a free bird than a captive king.

* * *

I will redress that wrong or spend my life in the attempt.

* * *

If the fight is for justice and principle, even where failure seems certain, where many have failed before, I shall cling to my ideal, and, like Childe Roland before the dark tower, set the slug-horn to my lips, blow the challenge and calmly wait the conflict.

* * *

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

—*Longfellow.*

* * *

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak.
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think:
They are slaves that dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—*Lowell.*

* * *

Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
  Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
  Men who have honor—men who will not lie;
. . . . . .
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog.

—*Holland.*

* * *

Lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps!

—*Holland.*

* * *

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

—*Goldsmith.*

* * *

Glory of warrior, glory of orator, glory of song,
. . . . . .
Glory of virtue, to fight, to struggle, to right the wrong.

—*Kipling.*

* * *

What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,
  Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
  Not bays nor broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
  Nor starr'd and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
  No: Men, high-minded Men,
. . . . . .
  Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
  Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
  These constitute a state.

—*Sir William Jones.*

DEAR LAND OF ALL MY LOVE

Long as thine art shall love true love,
Long as thy science truth shall know,
Long as thy eagle harms no dove,
Long as thy law by law shall grow,
Long as thy God is God above,
Thy brother every man below,
So long, dear land of all my love,
Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow.

—*Sidney Lanier.*

* * *

On! from honor unto honor!
Neither wealth nor self allure!
Onward, upward is our course
And our feet are firm and sure.
In our land is Wash'ngton's glory
Side by side with Lincoln's fame.
Much to spur us, naught to daunt us!
Dare and we shall do the same!

—*Adapted from Barry Cornwall's lines to Maclise.*

THE ONSET

Sound an alarm! The foe is come!
I hear the tramp—the neigh—the hum,
The cry, and the blow of his daring drum:
Huzzah!

Sound! The blast of our trumpet blown
Shall carry dismay into hearts of stone;
What! Shall we shake at a foe unknown?
Huzzah! Huzzah!

Have we not sinews as strong as they?
Have we not hearts that ne'er give way?
Have we not God on our side to-day?
Huzzah!

Look! They are staggered on yon black heath!
Steady awhile, and hold your breath!
Now is your time, men—down like death!
Huzzah! Huzzah!

Stand by each other, and front your foes!
Fight, whilst a drop of the red blood flows!
Fight, as ye fought for the old red rose!
Huzzah!

Sound! Bid your terrible trumpets bray!
Blow, till their brazen throats give way!
Sound to the battle! Sound, I say!
Huzzah! Huzzah!

—*Barry Cornwall.*

THE PLEDGE

We pledge allegiance to the flag and the Republic for which it stands—one nation invincible with liberty and justice for all. We pledge allegiance to good citizenship in all schools, that we may be better fitted for citizenship in the Republic whose government is of the people, by the people, for the people.

* * *

Tune: "America"

All honor we will pay
To heroes who each day
Are brave and true.
Each duty do with care,
Keep from all things unfair,
Honor the badge you wear,
Red, white and blue.

—*Written for the John Crerar School, Chicago.*

EMPTY ARMOR

A robber baron once ravaged a fertile country for years. Wherever this destroyer was seen, his visor was down and gauntlets concealed his hands. No one in all

his career looked upon his face. At last a brave warrior, by desperate valor, overthrew the robber knight and lo! the armor was empty. Nothing was behind it, nothing had ever been behind it. It was an empty shell.

(This fable can be used in two ways: It shows the mighty destructive power of emptiness, which is indifference, general apathy in the political realm, and how it deadens and kills. It also shows how weak and easily overcome the forces of evil really are in a community when the forces of righteousness rise against them.) A Useful Fable

PATRIOTISM OF LUCIUS BRUTUS

After Tarquin the Superb had been banished from Rome, Lucius Brutus succeeded to the power. Tarquin sent ambassadors asking that his money and estates be restored to him, pledging to resign, in return, all rights to the crown. Brutus opposed it, saying that they would be used against Rome. But the people thought Brutus too harsh, and consented. Now the ambassadors were not after the estates so much as to form a conspiracy to restore Tarquin. They succeeded in forming the conspiracy, which included two of the sons of Brutus, who thought their father too harsh in his rule and that Tarquin's reign would be more lax. A slave overheard the conspirators plotting one night and revealed the conspiracy. The plotters, with their incriminating papers, were seized and marched to the Forum. Here the slave made the charge and the confiscated papers were produced and read, the traitors standing with bowed heads while the people listened in amazement and sorrow, with their eyes fixed on the noble Brutus. Conspiracy Against Rome

The unhappy father thus addressed his sons: "Canst thou not, O Titus, nor thou, Tiberius, defend thyself against this shameful charge?" A painful silence. Again he repeated the question but still no answer. He spoke the third time and then, turning to the lictors, he exclaimed, "What remains is your duty."

Brutus Condemns His Sons to Be Beheaded

The lictors thereupon seized the youths, stripped off their clothes, bound them and scourged them with rods. The scene was so terrible that strong men turned aside unable to witness it, but Brutus showed no sign of weakness, or pity; he watched the agony of his children until the bitter end, when the lictors laid them on the ground and cut off their heads with an ax. Then, leaving the punishment of the other conspirators to his colleague, Brutus rose and walked away.

A SOLDIER'S PATRIOTISM

In the Franco-Prussian War, a French gunner was commanded by his colonel to fire on a small house which was believed to be a nest of Prussians.

"Try it with a shell, my man," said the officer.

With pale face Pierre obeyed. He sighted his piece deliberately and accurately, then fired it.

Shelling His Own Home

"Well hit, my man, well hit," said the officer, as he looked through the glass. "That cottage could not have been very solid. It's completely smashed."

Turning round, he noticed a tear stealing down the gunner's cheek. "Why, what's the matter?" he exclaimed, roughly.

"Pardon me, Colonel," was the answer, "it was my own little house—everything I had in the world."

PATRIOTISM WITHOUT PRICE

Mr. Humphreys had acquired a great reputation in this country as a naval architect during the War of 1812, in which our ships did such excellent service in their encounters with British vessels.

One morning, in the year 1824, Mr. Isakoff, the Russian minister to the United States, dropped into the office of Mr. Robert Peters, a prominent lawyer of Philadelphia, and in the course of the conversation asked Mr. Peters why it was that the ships of the United States were so much better than those of other countries.

"Better builders and designers," replied Mr. Peters. "Most of the ships launched from this port were built by a client of mine." Mr. Isakoff asked to meet this man.

The next morning Mr. Humphreys met the Russian minister at Mr. Peters' office, and was informed by him that the Russian Government was very anxious to engage the services of a competent naval constructor to found and organize a navy for Russian defense. His instructions from the Emperor were to secure one regardless of cost. He then offered the position to Mr. Humphreys, at a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year and perquisites. As perquisites, he named a city and country residence, with a retinue of servants, coaches, horses, and all necessary auxiliaries. Mr. Humphreys replied that he would take the matter under advisement.

Russia Makes an Offer

His reply was as follows: "The salary is more than I can earn; more than I need; more than I want; more than I could use. As to the town house, I need but one, and that should be near my place of business. As to coaches and servants, I always walk and wait upon myself, and should find myself unable to govern a multitude of servants. I do not know that I have the talents my friend Mr. Peters ascribes to me, but I do know and feel that whether my merit be great or small, I owe it all to the flag of my country, and that is a debt I must pay."

He Was Not for Sale

The account of this interview, and the noble answer of Mr. Humphreys came to the ears of President Adams, and the result was the appointment of the former as Chief Naval Constructor in the United States Navy, in 1826, a position which he held until his death in 1846.

JOHN HANCOCK'S PATRIOTISM

When a letter from Washington was read in Congress advocating the bombardment of Boston, a deep silence ensued and all eyes were bent upon their presiding officer, John Hancock, whose property was chiefly in that city. Hancock immediately rose to his feet and said, "Gentle-

men, nearly all my properties are in Boston. But if the liberty of our country requires their being burnt to ashes, issue the order for that purpose immediately."

GOVERNOR NELSON'S HOUSE

A Sacrifice for the Cause

When, at the siege of Yorktown, Lafayette asked Governor Nelson of Virginia where he would better direct his guns, the Governor said: "Point to that house. It is mine and the best in town. Cornwallis will surely occupy that as his headquarters."

BISMARCK'S DEVOTION

Bismarck, threatened with death for trying to liberate Germany from Austria, said: "What care I, if they hang me, provided that the rope by which I am hanged binds the new Germany more firmly to the Prussian throne."

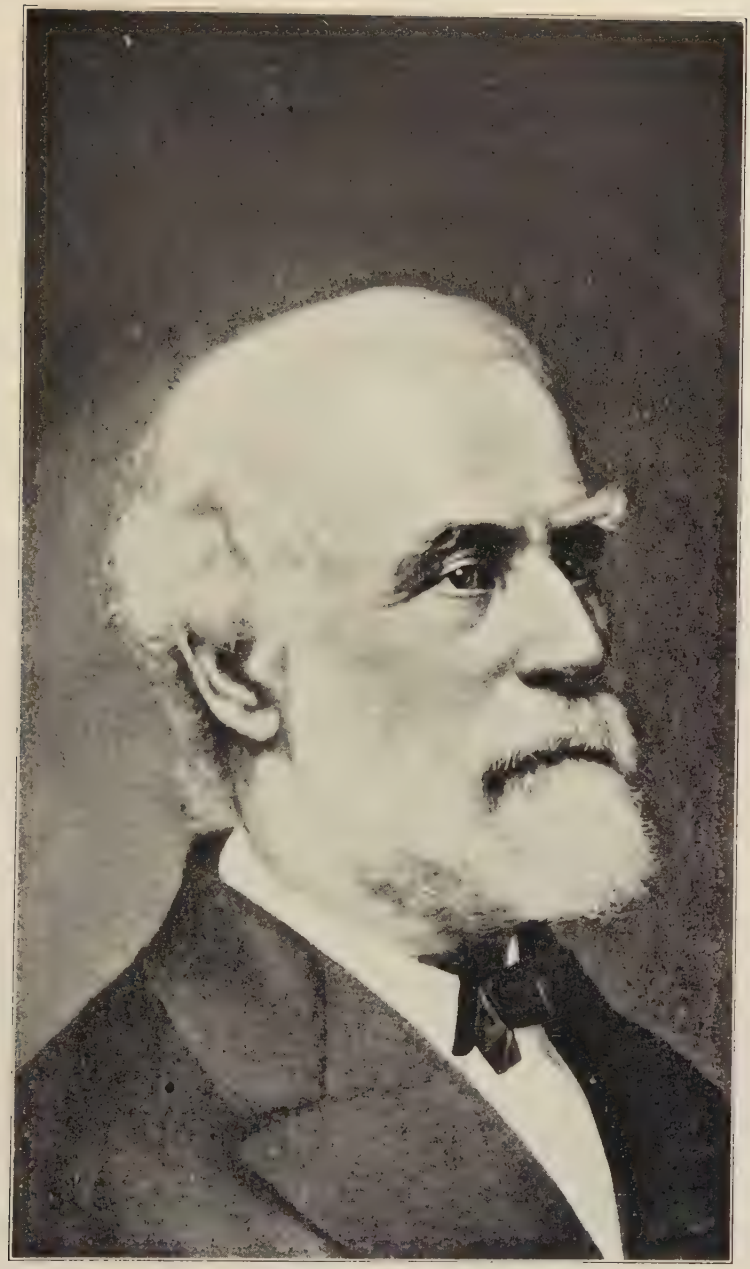
GENERAL LEE'S PUBLIC SPIRIT

Training Patriots of Peace

General Robert E. Lee, at the close of the civil war, was offered the presidency of a southern life insurance company at a salary of $10,000 a year. He refused it, to take the presidency of a college at a small salary. "I have led the young men of the South to battle. I have seen many of them die on the field. I shall devote my remaining energy to training young men how to do their duty in life, the thorough education of all classes being the most efficacious means for promoting the welfare of the South."

THEIR TIME AND SERVICE

In an Eastern city many young men volunteered to guard the polls in a certain rough and lawless district. Interfering with the designs of a gang of repeaters, some were set upon and beaten and carried to hospitals unconscious. They came out bandaged, but undaunted, to testify against their assaulters, to have the stuffed ballots thrown out, and their reform candidates elected.



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIETY

Society is the union of men and not men themselves; the citizen may perish and yet man may remain.—*Montesquieu.*

WHATEVER of common interest may exist between men, such as protection, sustenance, property interests, education, health, religion or pleasure, makes society.

Man is an animal capable of progress solely through the medium of association, a capacity for progress to which there seems no limit, and which distinguishes him from the lower animals. It is through society only—continuous in existence through passing generations, continuous in knowledge through the contributions of its members—that progress, the Divine Idea in the creation of man, is attained. Through society alone, by its combined energy, can man secure protection: protection against violence from his fellows, causing injury to life and limb; protection against disease and infection from bacteria; protection of his rights as man, such as his right to liberty, toleration and ownership of property.

Necessary for Security and Progress

There are many differences between civilized and barbarous states, but only a few of them need discussion here. In barbarous states there are no courts, no judges, no public executioners, no laws consciously made by the people. Custom reigns supreme. When trouble arises between man and man, custom rules that it is each man's duty to take the law into his own hands, and that law is vengeance, the law of retaliation: a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life, the law of like for like. Blood revenge and re-revenge is a sacred duty. If the criminal

Differences Between Barbarous and Civilized

escapes, the family is held responsible. This leads to feuds and sometimes to the extinction of the tribe.

In civilized nations men make laws which govern their relations to one another. The state (the nation acting in its corporate capacity) takes the place of private persons, and seeks to punish criminals, through legal tribunals, for the ends of public justice. Its object is not punitive alone, but preventive and reformatory. In civilized states obedience to law is mostly unconscious. Law has so formed and molded the people, and is to such an extent an expression of their wish, that they spontaneously obey it. They are free from the law by being on the side of law.

Law Instead of Force

To the degree in which a nation abides by the law it has itself made, and in which it leaves to the institutions of justice the trial and punishment of malefactors, to that degree is a nation civilized; but to the degree in which a nation resorts to blood-vengeance—riots, lynchings, etc.—it lapses into barbarism. A nation is civilized in the measure in which law supersedes force, the "religion of amity" the "religion of enmity." The idea of force is replaced by that of duty, the obligation of everyone to conform to moral and political laws.

The inventions of writing and printing were the great levers which raised men from barbarism to civilization. Before their invention each generation had to start where the preceding did, except as past achievements of the race could be handed down through oral tradition. There could be no stored knowledge to be used as the fulcrum of further advance. To transmit the ideas and achievements of one age to the next, was the problem of progress.

Intellectual Capital Transmitted to Posterity

Various mnemonic helps came into use. Some of the Indian tribes used "micams," boxes enclosing various articles which recalled certain incidents or events to the priests, who at stated intervals related them to the people. The Iroquois Indians used wampum, and the Peruvians and many others used the quipus, or knotted cords.

In higher stages of barbarism, pictures or symbols were used. The Chinese finally developed characters representing words and syllables, and the Japanese borrowed the characters representing syllables, but the Phoenicians adopted characters representing sounds. From these latter the alphabet was then formed and real writing became possible. In the sixth century China invented printing by blocks and in the tenth century was busily printing books. In the fourteenth century the art of printing developed in Europe. Printing enormously multiplies the power of diffusion of knowledge.

Evolution of Written Language

By means of writing and printing, knowledge can be amassed which can be used by the next age as the foundation of their advance. It gives permanence to history, science and law. The Greeks have passed away, but their recorded deeds remain and have helped other nations to reach their present degree of moral and intellectual development. The Roman Empire has passed away, but its recorded system of jurisprudence has molded the law codes of all nations of the West. Newton and Kepler died centuries ago, but the laws they discovered form the basis of all subsequent physical and astronomical advance. The recorded discovery of the Roentgen rays has led to the discovery of many other rays, and to properties of matter hitherto unknown. Each generation takes its legacy, adds to it, and then transmits it to the next. This inheritance constitutes the social debt of civilization. No man makes himself. There is no such thing as a self-made man. All of the past that has been transmitted enters into him. He is a social composite.

The Social Debt of Civilization

In savage tribes there is very little labor done. Hunting, fishing, and the pastoral life demand comparatively little effort. In barbarous societies labor was for the most part unfree. The conquests of war provided vast numbers of slaves, who became the laboring class. As barbarous states developed into civilized nations, the unfree, step by step, became free politically. With the

gradual growth of the ideas of justice, brotherhood, and equality, the obligation resting upon all to labor, to contribute social service, has become more and more apparent. Civilized society recognizes that, if a man does not labor—physically, mentally or spiritually—if he lives the life of a parasite, whether rich or poor, he atrophies as does a parasitic plant. Among the lower orders of life, parasitic animals tend to lose their nervous systems, and to become mere sacs with reproductive organs. Among human beings, parasitism produces first cerebral, then physical degeneration. The idler, relieved of the necessity for vigorous effort, voluntarily undertakes only easy mental tasks, and hence loses the enjoyment which reaction from hard labor brings. After a time, even the lower forms of enjoyment involving exercise that requires practice, skill, and play of intellect, yield to simpler forms of mere animal enjoyment. So the higher faculties atrophy. The physical degeneration follows upon the physical law which imposes exercise as a condition of digestion. "Whoso will not work neither can he eat." In all nations the class exempt from labor has decayed mentally and physically, by the law of cause and effect.

Labor the Universal Obligation

Civilization also recognizes the moral obligation of labor, that to consume without producing, to reap where one has not sown, to receive benefits without rendering back to society an equivalent in service, is injustice. The moral obligation is also the social one, the obligation to return, in service to the social partnership, the debt owed by each individual to the others of his time, and to all those of the past.

Paying the Debt to the Present and the Past

Civilization recognizes that if one individual idle, then some other must work harder. Just as in a family, if one or two members do not work, then the others must do more, since a certain amount of work must be done and the idlers must be supported; so in society, if any large section remain idle, then the burden becomes

heavier upon those who do work. To secure freedom for all for beneficial exercise of individual powers, which is one of the admitted ends of civilization, each must do his share of the drudgery of social work. When all do their part, the time and energy for recreation are more evenly distributed, and to the degree that there is just division of work and recreation among all is a nation civilized, since all work and no play, and all play and no work alike make Jack a dull boy. To the degree in which society recognizes the common obligation of labor, is it civilized.

No Place for Idlers

In the lower grades of savagery each man is for himself. Up through the different grades of savagery and barbarism man successively identifies himself with the family, the clan, the tribe, the nation. As he loses himself in service to these, as he places their interests before his own, he advances in civilization. The family or the class that places its interests before that of the whole lapses back into barbarism. The same is true of the individual. When an individual or a class is unable to identify himself or itself with the common life, the common interests, the very existence of the state is threatened, according to the law that the less social body must yield to the more social body. If the different states of Greece could have subordinated themselves to the whole, a united Greece would not have fallen before Philip. If the Scottish clans could have subordinated themselves to the interests of the people as a whole, Scotland need not have fallen victim to England.

Family, Clan, Tribe, Nation

What then is the civilized state? That in which is observed the rule, "Each for all and all for each"; in which the community as a whole shall, on the one hand, produce the means of giving strength and happiness, and, on the other, distribute equitably among its members individually and collectively the strength and happiness produced; in which each individual considers his time, talents, and property as held in trust for the public wel-

fare; in which the community as a whole administers all its public resources for the benefit of every member.

Man is not yet completely civilized because, among other reasons, he still limits his identification. He now limits himself to his nation. Other nations are regarded as barbarians, who may be conquered or oppressed. Until man identifies himself with humanity, with society at large, until wherever there exists a human being he regards himself as a brother to all the others and labors for their welfare, man is not yet civilized. The subject of internationalism is treated in another chapter.

Perfect Civilization Yet to Be Attained

The individual's degree of identification with the community life, his degree of civilization, is measured by the answer his actions, not his words, give to the question, "Is the work I now do beneficial or injurious to society?" If the way a business is conducted injures the employees, if they cannot honorably maintain a decent living on the wage paid, if the processes are injurious to life, if the desire to make profits leads to such an increase of prices as to cripple the consumer, or to methods that crush the competitor, then the employer is lapsing into barbarism because he places his own interests before that of the community. If the service given in any occupation is not faithful, honest and efficient, then the employees are retrograding for the same reason. The individual is civilized only to the degree in which he identifies himself with the life of humanity, contributing his labor, his thought, his life, to the common progress of all.

Test to Be Applied to Business Methods

Society has been defined as a being who lives and learns forever. Individuals and nations die, but what they have thought and what they have learned do not die with them. Society gathers it up and passes it on. The ideas and beliefs into which one is born are the product of the life of society before, and a factor in the life of society to come. Each generation stands a little higher than its predecessor in intellectual, moral, and social development. The object of society is thus Progress—the

progress of humanity, continuous from epoch to epoch, "progress in every branch of human activity, in every manifestation of thought, from philosophy and religion down to industry and the distribution of wealth." In industry, for instance, humanity has progressed from slavery, through serfdom, to the wage system, and is already groping for the next step, the nature of which has not yet been disclosed. In religion, society has progressed from the union of church and state, in which conscience is fettered, to the separation of church and state, in which conscience is free. In politics, man has progressed from government by one or a few for their own benefit, to government by all for all; in morals, from "each for himself" to "all for each and each for all."

Object and Goal of Society

Each epoch is a preparation for the next. Each epoch, each nation contributes to the gradually increasing likeness of humanity to God, to the gradual conformity of earth with heaven, for the goal of society is "His kingdom on earth as it is in heaven."

CHAPTER X

PROPERTY

The accumulation of property is no guarantee of the development of character, but the development of character, or of any other good whatever, is impossible without property.

—*W. G. Sumner.*

THE word "property" really means ownership, the thing owned being technically wealth. The principle of property is, that exercise of labor establishes a right of ownership in the fruits of labor. This principle insures to all persons what they have produced by their labor, or accumulated by their abstinence.

A Stimulus to Industry and Frugality

The necessity of property lies in the nature of man. With no right to the product of his labor, no one would make a tool or build a house or raise a crop. The right of property is a stimulus to labor and frugality. Wherever the right is unrecognized, denied or abrogated, improvidence results. In savagery there is very little private property, the right being held by the family or tribe, and the resulting improvidence keeps the population very low, thousands being annually swept away by famine or by severity of weather. In civilized society, where the right to full ownership of one's labor is denied by the payment of wages which are not the equivalent of the product produced, improvidence and half-hearted labor are proverbial. The stimulus to labor and saving is wanting.

The necessity of property lies also in the inherent nature of society. The essential element of society is stability, and property conduces to stability. The man

who has property, preferably real property, is a natural conservative. When a man has "a stake in the country," he becomes a law-abiding citizen, an effective and unshakable defense against revolution. To become a taxpayer is to get a local anchorage, which begets a knowledge of and interest in the state and makes one a better and more reliable workman, as well as a more desirable citizen in every way. With the tremendous growth of industrialism, calling for vast armies of men who can be shifted from point to point, as the exigencies of employment demand, there has grown up a class of unattached drifting labor upon whom, with no permanent homes, the traditions and interests of the country have no hold; and who, ignorant and indifferent to the issues of an election, sell their votes to the highest bidder, or are led by demagogues. To transform this proletariat into property owners is becoming one of the serious problems of America, so dangerous to stability is the menace of a propertyless class.

A Necessity for Stable Citizenship

Private property is the right of the individual to the product of his own labor. When John makes a whistle, or carves a boat out of a piece of wood, that whistle or boat is John's—it is private property.

Common property is the right of society, the right of the whole, to the products of nature, things made for man, not by man. The coal, the oil, the forests, the great rivers, the great lakes, are not the products of any individual labor. They are common property. The right of ownership to them is vested by natural law in society, not in the individual. The children will say that many of the items enumerated are privately owned. The answer is, of course, that private ownership in these cases comes from laws made by man—social laws, not natural laws. Private ownership of a coal mine is not derived from natural right, but from legal right, society having passed laws that confer that claim. All states reserve their rights to rivers and lakes. Some of the states of Ger-

What Is Common Property?

many reserve their natural right in mines, all laws of sale and lease referring only to topsoil. In those states, if a man buys land and afterward discovers coal, iron, or any valuable mineral, he has no legal right to it. It belongs, not to him, but to society, which has been wise enough to make natural law and legal law one. In almost all the European countries the forests have been retained by society through its corporate body, the state. The Province of Ontario, Canada, reserves the water power of the rivers. Thus that tremendous source of energy, Niagara Falls, the "white coal" as it has been called, is now made to promote the comfort and convenience of the whole people by its sale to municipalities, instead of being a source of profit to private concerns.

Conservation of Natural Resources

The moral right of the individual to private property is based upon man's right to the products of his labor. It rests upon man's right to himself. Man puts himself into his labor. Into the statue, or the potatoes, or the table, man puts some part of his vital energy of muscle and of brain. It is a part of himself. The right rests upon a man's right to his own life.

Moral right of society to common property is based upon its right to values made by nature, made for man, not by man. Man has not, by his labor, made the rivers or the lakes, the gold, iron, or coal, the forests or prairies. They were made by nature, and, therefore, belong not to one man but to all men. They are common wealth because they are gifts of nature.

The Moral Right to Property, Private and Common

In so far as private companies own any of this common property it is because, and only to the extent that, society, by artificial arrangements, has given them a title to these natural values. This has often been done through ignorance, carelessness, or through a belief that the best way to secure for the whole the benefits of the common wealth is by private ownership. The theory of private ownership of common property is that private owners are simply the agents of society for the distribution of the

common wealth. They are simply public-service companies. Even the individual owner of land is simply a public-service individual in the last analysis, for it is an axiom of English law that no man, prince or peasant, holds land exempt from public service. What he holds is an "estate" in land, subject to the conditions of a fief or trust. From Aristotle down to the present, economists have shown that no man can ever be lord and master of the bounty of nature. He is simply made by society its trustee. Society remains "eminent lord." The "right of eminent domain" can be illustrated to the pupils by local instances. This right empowers society by distributing equitably this common wealth to regulate the action of companies it artificially creates to serve it.

The Right of Eminent Domain

Children generally have an idea that a man may do as he likes with his own. But the right of the individual, even in that which he has made, is limited by the social right. "All past man," said Carlyle, "works with the modern man." The first fire-maker, the first iron-smelter, the inventor of the lever and the wheel, the perfecters of arithmetic, the inventor of Arabic numerals, the discoverer of the powers of steam, and of the inflammable power of coal, the inventors of the open hearth, the Bessemer converter—all are contributors to the common stock of powers of which the modern steel-maker avails himself. Says Goethe: "Every one of my writings has been furnished to me by a thousand persons, a thousand things; wise and foolish have brought me, without suspecting it, the offering of their thoughts, faculties, and experiences. My work is an aggregation of beings taken from the whole of nature—it bears the name of Goethe." So far as anything not one's own enters into one's product, the product is not his own. Every man makes use of the social plant, the accumulation of the inventions, the discoveries, and the thoughts of preceding generations, and the social co-operation of his own. The right of private ownership is limited by the social debt.

The Social Right in Private Property

The story of Robinson Crusoe, and stories of other men marooned or shipwrecked on uninhabited islands, show the helplessness of the isolated individual, and the social debt. The children should explain their own social debt. Their school house is probably situated where once a vast forest stood, which was cleared away by the labors of the early settlers; or it was once a great prairie roamed over by savage Indians, which the early settlers and their descendants have transformed into a rich country; the school building has been erected according to the laws of mechanics and art, developed by the thought and the investigation of a long series of men; the steam which heats it, and the electricity which lights it, have been trained to serve the school by the toil of legions of men in the past centuries; the stores of knowledge which are open to all are the accumulations of all the past centuries; the whole educational plant is the result of the co-operative effort of the community.

The Helplessness of the Isolated Individual

The moral right of private property is thus limited by the social right. A man may not do just what he likes with his own. He is morally bound to use it in the service of society. Through the social right the state (society in its corporate capacity) can, in the interest of the public welfare, restrict, by economic and sanitary regulations, his use of his property. The peel of the banana which a man has bought is his, but the state may regulate his disposal of it, so as not to interfere with the safety of pedestrians, or the health of the community. A man's shoe-factory is his own, but the community may regulate the number of hours his employees may work, the safety appliances he must use, etc.

Restrictions in Use of Private Property

Aristotle and most Christian moralists have held that private property is right when and so far as it subserves the moral end for which the state exists, that there is no moral title to wealth except as it is morally employed. It is certain that the right of property has its complement in duty.

CHAPTER XI

FEDERATION OF THE WORLD: INTERNATIONALISM

The parliament of man, the federation of the world.
—*Tennyson.*

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts!
—*Longfellow.*

THERE is a relationship existing between all nations—a universal brotherhood. If to confine one's self to one's own good, or to one's own family, against all other families, is selfish, to confine one's self to the good of one's own nation is also selfish. We love our country. It is endeared to us as the place of our birth and the sports of our childhood. We are bound to it by the ties of kinship and early associations. We love it because it embodies the principles we revere. But love of country is not noble, when it blinds us to the rights of other nations, bound to us through the fatherhood of God, and equally with us the objects of His love and care. These nations are our brothers. Just as we have brothers in Kansas, Oregon, Louisiana, or Maine, separated from us by mountains, rivers and lakes, so are these nations different members of the same family, separated by mountains, rivers and seas. And just as hatred between members of one family, or between parts of one nation, is evil, so is it between nations.

The Universal Brotherhood

Real love of country is, however, synonymous with love of humanity. Real love of country is not based on mere

sentiment. It is born of the feeling we have for the principles of justice and righteousness, which the country embodies in its actions. It is not our country, right or wrong, that we love, but our country right. And our country right means justice and good will shown in foreign relations as well as domestic, to other nations as well as to members of its own.

Love of Country Fostered by Hate for Other Countries

There are two reasons why the nations of the world have been slow in realizing that love for the whole is as necessary as that for a part. When government was for the benefit of one or a few, rulers taught that love of country was the highest virtue in the world, in order that the people might, in their blind devotion, offer themselves a willing sacrifice to further the selfish schemes of aggrandizement of the rulers. Moreover, no nation was allowed to see other nations as they really were. Each was misled as to the character of the others by the studied insistence of the rulers upon the wickedness of the other nations, their cruelty, their injustice, their viciousness, their greed and bloodthirstiness.

But now government in most countries is to some degree for the benefit of all; and people read and travel and find that men are fundamentally alike—that humanity, no matter what the color or race, has the same essential nature, the same basic traits, is addicted to the same vices, ennobled by the same virtues—all, lovers of justice and good will. Love of humanity increases in direct ratio with the growth of democracy and knowledge.

Preparing for Citizenship in the World

Those who insist that patriotism limits one's duties to family and country teach but an enlarged selfishness. The family prepares for citizenship in the state. The state prepares for citizenship in the world. Its function is to make men who will play their part in the development of humanity. Individuals die, nations perish, but humanity lives on, progressing step by step along the path of development into likeness unto God. Each generation, each nation, is indebted to humanity for what it

is, and what it hopes to be. The nations pass away, but their deeds remain. Were it not for the past, the nations of to-day would not have reached their present state of development. Were it not for Greece, Rome, England, France, and other nations of the past and present, America could not have reached her present moral, intellectual and material development. Thus each nation has its part to play in the progress of humanity. To be selfishly devoted to one's country at the expense of the others, or indifferent to their interests, is to prove recreant to humanity. We are soldiers in one army advancing to a common goal, the nations being the different divisions. Each has its work to perform, but the victory depends upon the exactitude with which each national task is performed in relation to the task of the other national divisions.

Each Nation Has Its Part to Play

The evolution from love of family to love of humanity has been slow, but steady. Originally, men regarded all outside of the family circle as strangers and enemies, whom they had a right to conquer and oppress. God was the protector of the family alone. Then they came to recognize the existence of duties owed to the nation, and they strove for its existence. Other nations were regarded as barbarous whom they had a right to oppress by force or fraud. God was the protector of the nation. Now they are coming to see that all men are sons of God and consequently brothers, that humanity is one body whose members are the nations. As members of that body, the duty of the nations is to labor for its development. The duties to family and to nation have not been lessened; simply to them has been added the duty to humanity.

Slow Evolution from Love of Family to Love of Humanity

Just as the different members of the human body cannot develop at the expense of the others without hurting the whole, or decay without injuring all parts, so to-day no nation can flourish at the expense of others, or decay, without hurting humanity. We live by exchanges, by im-

portation and exportation. A foreign nation impoverished by another, means one less customer for that nation. A foreign commerce ruined by its own bad administration, affects the other nations. Failures in America affect England. Impoverishment of Russia entails failures in France. Humanity is one: one in origin, one in the law of justice and good will that governs, and one in aim—the uplift of all. Above the duty to family, above that to the nation, is that to humanity.

Interdependence of Nations

Americans are prone to think too well of themselves. They share the feeling of the ancient Greek, without the Greek's excuse, that the stranger is a "barbarian." Yet America, in her devotion to the material, has originated but little, as yet, that will tell in the history of the world, little that will modify race. America stands for equality, yet that theory did not originate with her. All she has done has been to insist upon it—and that more theoretically than practically. She is inclined to think of herself as the only free nation, carrying the torch of liberty to enlighten the world. Yet in some respects England is conceded to be freer than she is. France has manhood suffrage and responsible government, as has every nation of Europe except Russia. Japan has a constitutional government and a responsible ministry, and even Persia and Turkey have declared for constitutional government. The mere form of government that a state has to-day is of but little importance. It may be a monarchy or empire, and yet the people have self-government. In reality, the President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives have each much more power than the King of England. The will of the people in the latter country has more authority, as expressed in law, than in this country, because England has no written constitution to which laws must conform, nor has it a supreme court of review. America has no real basis for her sense of superiority.

United States Is Not the Only Free Nation

The object of these lessons is to develop a right racial

attitude, by making children understand the immense contributions of other nations to the sum total of civilization, "the enormous accumulations of capital in the arts, industries, and thought, which they have contributed to the common wealth of the world," and the part each has played in the progress of humanity. Only through knowledge can national conceit and racial antagonism disappear.

Greece has contributed to the world art, beauty, politics, and philosophy. Centuries before the Christian era, the Greeks erected buildings that have been the models and at once the admiration and despair of every nation that has subsequently risen out of barbarism. Their sculpture has never been excelled. Their systems of ethics, of philosophy, of politics, have been the inspiration of every people. Their literature, their poetry and drama, have furnished the standards by which all literature is measured. From Greece humanity has derived ideas of freedom, liberty, righteousness, free discussion, and of forms of government—assembly, senate, and judiciary. The debt of humanity to Greece is immeasurable.

The World's Indebtedness to Greece

Rome contributed civil law to the world. While the Teutonic race to which the English-speaking peoples belong was still settling differences by personal combat, Rome had evolved the method of obtaining justice by trial by law, and had developed an elaborate code of laws —rules adjusting the rights of men. But beside her great gift of jurisprudence Rome gave many other things. She was the first to put the practice of war on a humane basis, and the first to practice agriculture systematically. She, also, developed an efficient system of municipal government, and in architecture gave to the world the arch. The Romans were the ancestors of the modern Italians, whose immediate ancestors, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, developed an art and literature that have never been excelled by modern nations. Dante ranks with Homer and Shakespeare, while Titian, Michelangelo,

The Great Debt to Rome and Modern Italy

Raphael and da Vinci are studied by all artists to-day as masters. The land of the "Dago" contributes a spiritual element, a sense and feeling for art, in literature, sculpture and painting, to whatever nation she sends her sons. The Italians in New York spend night after night in their hot, stuffy little theaters, listening to Tasso's masterpiece, "Jerusalem Delivered," while their American brothers are content with the banalities of vaudeville and cheap music halls.

Contributions of France to Progress

The French nation has contributed the ideas of fraternity and equality to the world. Jefferson, to whom is largely due the democratic nature of our institutions, was a deep student of French thought. France is to-day the artistic leader of the nations. Artists from all countries study in her studios. In the manufacture of everything that contributes to the adornment of life, she leads. All Latins—French, Italian, Spanish—share a deep feeling for the beauty of line and color.

Germany's Greatest Contribution to Progress

The Teutonic nations have given the idea of personal liberty, and, in law, trial by jury, that is trial by one's peers. Of these nations, Germany is the leader to-day in scientific investigation and the application of science to industry and commerce. Her inventions and discoveries in the field of applied science have placed her within the forefront of commercial nations. Her philosophic thinkers have profoundly influenced modern thought. Her school system, especially in its industrial phases, is being studied and imitated or adapted in every commercial nation. Perhaps her greatest contribution to the present is the idea of efficiency as the key of progress.

What England Has Given to the World

England has given to the world the doctrines of the civil rights of man and of fair play. She has always stood for civil liberty. In government she has a great genius for administration. All modern governments, and especially all colonial administrations, are largely based upon the English. In the material world most of the great inventions which have revolutionized industry, such

as the power loom, carding machine, spinning frame, puddling furnace, crucible, Bessemer converter, open hearth, steam hammer, rolling mill, hydraulic crane, hydraulic press, steam engine and turbine engine have been of English origin. English literature has enriched the world.

The Jews have contributed religious inspiration, embracing the recognition of man's relations and his responsibilities to his Creator. All Europe and both Americas take their religion from Moses or Christ, both of them Hebrews. The Jews, more than any other race of people, have stood for things of the spirit. They have given to the world the most sublime conception of Deity and the most complete definition of religion: "And what doth the law require of thee but to do justly and love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God."

The Jews Have Stood for Spiritual Ideals

Especial attention should be paid to the great nations of the East, their extraordinary ability, and their great contributions to the world. The halt in their progress, and the imperfections of their civilization, may be pointed out, but there should also be shown the drawbacks and defects of Western civilization.

To the Chinese the world is deeply indebted. Before the mysterious stagnation from which she is now awakening, overtook China, she manifested a most signal creative ability. The manufacture of silk was original with her, as was also that of porcelain. She had the compass, made paper, and printed, hundreds of years before the Europeans. From her the Western world obtained gunpowder and many other things. She has a most remarkable commercial ability. In agriculture, long before other nations, she found that soil has to be fed.

The Debt to China and Japan

Japan's gift to the world has been an artistic one. In many respects she has been the France of the East. Her art dominates her whole life, however, as has been the case in no other nation past or present. Her life, public and domestic, is governed by the laws of beauty. She

borrows hints from other nations, and then excels them in their own field.

To the Mohammedans, Moors, and the Persians, the world is indebted for the beginnings of astronomy, and much advance in mechanics. They originated the Arabic numerals and the decimal system, and really the arts of arithmetic and algebra. They made great progress in geometry and trigonometry. They printed from movable type on paper made from flax or cotton in the ninth century, or six centuries before Gutenberg did so in Germany. From them also the world obtained the magnet. To the Persians the world is indebted for much beautiful literature.

The Gifts of the Orient

After emphasis has been laid upon the fact that other nations are not behind us, but are really marching in the van of progress, attention may very properly be called to America's priceless contributions to the world's welfare. President Eliot enumerates these: The steady and growing national influence for peace-making and the substitution of arbitration for war; the illustration on a great scale of the widest religious toleration; the demonstration of the wisdom of manhood suffrage; the demonstration to humanity, through hospitality toward newcomers from all parts of the world, of the fitness of men of all races for political freedom; the extension of material comforts and well-being among a whole population.

America's Priceless Contributions to the World's Welfare

In this way should the nations of the East and the West be considered, their character, their achievements and their rank. Nor should the nations of South America that are forging ahead so rapidly—Brazil, Chile, Argentina, etc.—be forgotten. Thus may the children learn to respect all nations, regardless of race, color or religion. Thus may they see how each contributes its quota to the welfare and progress of the world, how all together build a far grander edifice than any one nation could build alone, unaided by the others.

No nation lives to itself alone. One of the most strik-

ing features of the times is the interdependence of civilized nations. They have become members of one body inextricably knit together. This solidarity is shown in many ways. Commercially, all are buyers and sellers. The international commerce has reached the enormous aggregate of twenty-six thousand millions of dollars per year in times of peace. A calamity in one nation affects another. Unless England is prosperous enough to buy from us, America loses. Unless Russia, England, France and America can afford to buy her fine products, France suffers. When Russia's wheat crop fails, the price of wheat rises in Germany and her poor must go without bread. The price of butter in New Zealand is said to affect the price in New York. The wheat crop in America or Argentina affects the number of marriages in London. Commercially, we are indissolubly knit together.

The Solidarity of Nations

Facilities for communication have brought nations into the familiar knowledge of each other that makes for sympathy. China, Japan, Russia or India has a famine, and the whole world sends relief. San Francisco has an earthquake and fire, and every nation sends assistance and sympathy. The growth and development of each make for the growth and development of all. All art students go to France and Italy. Students of applied science go to Germany. Students of medicine go to Paris, Edinburgh and Vienna. Chicago sends for an expert in municipal government from Glasgow; China and Japan send students to our schools. Belgian potters send money to aid a strike of American potters.

Easy Intercommunication Promotes Sympathy

There is but one moral law. What is right for the individual is right for the nation. What is wrong for the individual is wrong for the nation. The moral law obtaining between two individuals is justice, to each his own, his due, his right. No other moral law obtains between two groups of ten individuals each, of a hundred, of ten thousand, or of ten millions, whether a stream, a river, a mountain range, or a sea separates them. The

only moral law governing men is justice, and nations are men. The state, which is the nation in its corporate capacity, is a person, a man, in the eyes of law.

Again a white man may not steal from a yellow man, nor a Christian from a Mohammedan, because these are men. No more may a white nation steal—that is, take without the owners' consent and without rendering full equivalent—from a yellow nation; nor a Christian from a Mohammedan nation. The moral law holds, no matter what the color or religion of the nations.

The Moral Law Holds Between Man and Man

If an individual has coal on his land, no other man may take it, no matter how strong physically or financially. If a nation has gold, diamonds, ivory, or fine farming land, the same moral law prevents another nation from taking these things, no matter how strong in arms or wealth. The moral law holds, no matter what the difference in military or financial strength.

If a man becomes angry over a supposed insult or injury, the moral law forbids him to act until he has had time to consider dispassionately, with the aid of judgment and reason, both sides of the matter, and to put himself in the other's place. The same moral law obtains among nations, even more imperatively if that were possible, on account of the numbers involved.

The Moral Law Holds Between Nations

So in many ways, it should be shown that the same moral law holds for nations as for individuals.

The individual is no longer allowed the duel, the personal combat by arms, to settle personal differences. He must bow to law, through which only is it considered that justice can be determined. The same morality demands that nations should settle their differences by resort, not to arms, but to law.

"War," says Sumner in his "Grandeur of Nations," "is a public armed contest between nations in order to establish justice between them." Now, justice implies the exercise of reason and judgment in the determination of rights. War has nothing to do with judgment or

reason, but delivers over the results to superiority of force or chance. For instance: John claims that he owns the apple which Will is eating. Does a fight in any way determine the real owner of the apple? Mr. L claims a piece of land fenced in by Mr. M. Would a fight between the two men, or between groups of their friends, determine the real owner of the land? In the war England waged with Bonaparte she needed seamen and claimed the right to impress any Britishers found on American ships. In the treaty which closed the War of 1812 there is no reference whatever to the point which was the sole cause of the war. America had said to her commissioners that if England did not acknowledge she had no such right, America had appealed to arms in vain. Did the war in any way determine whether England had or had not the right? War does not determine justice, it merely determines might.

What Does War Determine?

The resort to brute force by individuals, whether of fists or swords or pistols, has been abolished, because in no way did it determine justice. What it could not do between individuals it is powerless to do between masses of individuals, or nations. Yet it is just as imperative that justice be determined between masses of men as between two men; more imperative, even, because of the far-reaching results and the vast numbers affected. That justice has not obtained between nations is largely owing to a wrong conception of national honor and of true greatness. The plea used by those eager for war is "national honor." "Avenge the national honor," is their cry. What is national honor? It does not consist in hunting for imaginary insults, in suspecting our neighbors, nor in being quick to take up arms over a supposed injury. True honor consists in being humane and friendly, in rendering and expecting justice, and in maintaining good will to all. The true honor of a nation is to be found only in deeds of justice and good will. It has been well defined by Sumner:

Avenging the National Honor

"The true greatness of a nation lies in those qualities which constitute the greatness of the individual. It is not to be found in extent of territory or in vastness of population or in wealth; not in fortifications or in armies or in navies; not in the glare of the field of battle; not in Golgothas though covered by monuments that kiss the clouds: for all these are the creations and representations of those qualities of our nature which are unlike anything in God's nature.

True Greatness of a Nation

"The true greatness of a nation lies in the diffusion of the greatest happiness among the greatest number, and that passionless, God-like justice which controls the relation of the state to other states and to all the people committed to its charge."

National honor is at stake, then, only when justice and happiness are at stake. National honor never depends on a straw or eggshell, as Hamlet satirically says. It never depends upon the impotent word of anger or folly, even when followed by a blow, nor upon the action of a few in a riot or a commercial transaction. National honor is at stake when it is considered less shameful to commit a great wrong than to receive a little wrong, more proper to take up arms and fight and kill than to seek justice.

Poems, Quotations

HONOR

Rightly to be great
Is not to stir without great argument,
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw
When honor's at the stake.

—*Shakespeare.*

* * *

Exposing what is mortal and unsure
To all that fortune, death and danger dare,
Even for an eggshell.

—*Shakespeare.*

SALUT AU MONDE

(Greeting to the World)

Canto II

You, whoever you are!
You daughter or son of England!
You of the mighty Slavic tribes and empires! You Russ in Russia!
You dim-descended, black, divine-souled African, large, fine-headed, nobly formed, superbly destined, on equal terms with me!
You Norwegian! Swede! Dane! Icelander! You Prussian!
You Spaniard of Spain! You Portuguese!
You French Woman and Frenchman of France!
You Belge! You liberty-lover of the Netherlands!
You sturdy Austrian! You Lombard! Hun! Bohemian! Farmer of Styria!
You neighbor of the Danube!
You working man of the Rhine, the Elbe or the Weser! You working women, too!
You Sardinian! You Bavarian! Swabian! Saxon! Wallachian! Bulgarian!
You Citizen of Prague! Roman! Neapolitan! Greek!
You little matador in the arena at Seville!
You mountaineer living lawlessly in the Taurus or Caucasus!
You Bokh shepherd watching your mares and stallions feeding!
You beautiful bodied Persian, at full speed in saddle, shooting arrows to the mark!
You Chinaman and Chinawoman of China! You Tartar of Tartary!
You women of the earth subordinated at your tasks!
You Jew journeying in your old age through every risk to stand once on Syrian ground!
You other Jews waiting in all lands for your Messiah!

You thoughtful Armenian pondering by some stream of Euphrates! You peering amid the ruins of Nineveh! You ascending Mount Ararat!
You footworn pilgrim welcoming the faraway sparkle of the minarets of Mecca!
You Sheiks along the stretch from Suez to Babel-Mandeb ruling your families and tribes!
You olive-grower tending your fruit on fields of Nazareth, Damascus, or Lake Tiberias!
You Thibet trader on the wide inland or bargaining in shops of Lhasa!
You Japanese man or woman! You liver in Madagascar, Ceylon, Sumatra, Borneo!
All you continentals of Asia, Africa, Europe, Australia, in different places!
All you on the numberless islands of the archipelagoes of the sea!
All you each and everywhere whom I specify not but include just the same!
Health to you! Good will to you all—from me and America sent!
Each of us is inevitable;
Each of us is limitless—each of us with his or her right upon the earth;
Each of us is allowed the eternal purports of the earth;
Each of us here as divinely as any is here;
Salut au Monde!

—*Walt Whitman.*

THE FATHERLAND

Where is the true man's fatherland?
Is it where he by chance is born?
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant borders to be spanned?
Oh yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

JANE ADDAMS.

Is it alone where freedom is,
Where God is God and man is man?
Doth he not claim a broader span
For the soul's love of home than this?
Oh yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear
Joy's myrtle wreath or sorrow's gyves,
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more true and fair,
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another,—
Thank God for such a birthplace, brother,—
That spot of earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

—*Lowell.*

THIS MOMENT YEARNING AND THOUGHTFUL

This moment yearning and thoughtful and sitting alone,
It seems to me there are other men in other lands yearning and thoughtful.
It seems to me I can look over and behold them in Germany, Italy, France, Spain,
Or far, far away in China or in Russia or Japan, talking other dialects,
And it seems to me if I could know those men I should become attached to them as I do to men in my own land:
Oh, I know we should be brethren and lovers!
I know I should be happy with them.

—*Walt Whitman.*

If universal peace is ever to reign, its foundation must be laid deep in the hearts of the children. In the past,

through the influence of textbooks on history, which devoted large space to the conduct of war—its campaigns and battles and heroes—and but little to the causes or the cost, the children received a wrong impression of war and national honor. They grew up with the idea that their own nation was always right and others wrong; or, if their nation was so clearly in the wrong that they could not but see it, false conceptions of national honor raised the cry, "Our country, right or wrong." National honor was the tune to which they danced, skilfully played by rulers and politicians and "interests" to hide their schemes.

False Teaching of Patriotism

The textbooks of to-day no longer treat war in a narrow and political spirit, but they minimize its importance by giving more attention to the progress and development of the nation. The false conception of national honor is being gradually superseded by the true ideals of national greatness and real patriotism, and by a conviction that "My country wrong" means national dishonor. Gradually the spirit of fair-mindedness, that recognizes justice and injustice on both sides, is developing, as also the beliefs that above love of country is love of humanity, and that the same rules of morality that obtain between individuals shall obtain between nations.

Newer and Truer Teaching

But more than this is required if we would imbue the coming generations with a deep and abiding love of peace. The anti-social character of war must be emphasized: the selfishness of those who, from greed or ambition, bring it on; the injustice in the distribution of its burdens; the long train of attendant evils felt by society for generation after generation.

Even during the nineteenth century it is estimated that upward of fourteen million men lost their lives in war and many more million were disabled—fine men physically, men of energy and spirit, for war rejects weaklings. The most of these men lost their lives fighting, not for principles or for liberty, but to gratify the ambition of a

few men—the two Napoleons, William I. and Bismarck, George III. and Pitt, Francis and Metternich, and the Czars. The Franco-Prussian war, which cost both countries thousands of men, and inflicted upon France not only humiliation and disgrace but loss of territory and an immense indemnity, was caused by Bismarck's ambition for Prussia, and the jealousy of Napoleon III. of Prussia's growing greatness and his desire to restore his own waning prestige.

So it may be shown that most of the wars of the last hundred years were caused by the greed, the ambition, or the jealousy of a few, and that the many paid the bill in tears and blood and the sacrifice of life itself.

But the suffering and death of these millions of soldiers is not all. There is the misery of their families who have lost their loved ones; there is their pitiful struggle to earn a living; there is the burden of debt placed upon the stooped shoulders of the people—for it is the people who, out of their small earnings, pay the burden of taxation. When the war between Japan and Russia began, the national debt of Japan was six dollars per capita. At the close of the war it was twenty-seven dollars per capita. And this was the cost of the victor! What must have been the cost to the Russian people? War places burdens upon generation after generation who must pay in sweat and misery and pinched living! The total cost exceeds power to estimate.

Studies in the Cost of War

The total expenditures of France during the Franco-Prussian war amounted in round numbers to two thousand five hundred million dollars. To this must be added losses from interruption of work and commerce, so that the general total of losses to France, caused by the ambition of one man and the jealousy of another, is estimated by Block, from whose book on war the following data have been obtained, to amount to about one thousand million pounds sterling, or five thousand million dollars.

From 1859 to 1876, a period of twenty-five years, the

expenditures in the great wars of Europe—Crimean War, the War of 1859, Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the War with Turkey of 1877—amounted to over six thousand million dollars, in direct expenses alone.

But tremendous as has been the cost of war in past generations, it cannot but seem trifling in comparison with the incredible draft upon the world's accumulated wealth caused by the world-war of the twentieth century.

The Most Terrible Cataclysm of All Time

The war debts assumed by the various nations engaged in that terrible cataclysm, the losses entailed by shattered commerce and interrupted production, the ruthless destruction of property on land and sea, are beyond all ordinary methods of computation and even stagger the imagination to conceive.

France's war expenditures in the years 1914-1916 amounted to more than six billion dollars. The average monthly expenditures increased in that time from two hundred and sixty million dollars to four hundred and fourteen millions. In 1915, the "London Economist" stated that the daily average cost of the great war to Great Britain was fifteen million dollars. The net amount added to the national debt a day was ten million dollars.

Cost of Militarism in Times of Peace

The burdens entailed by militarism in times of peace are no less crushing. The mammoth expenditures in the military and naval departments of all nations are entailed by the necessity of preparation for unforeseen events. The increase in such expenditures is growing by leaps and bounds. Between 1874 and 1896 Germany's increase of expenditure amounted to seventy-nine per cent, Russia's seventy-five per cent, England's forty-seven per cent, and France's forty-three per cent. Lord Avebury in June, 1907, estimated the annual cost to Europe of her armaments at two thousand million dollars. But these sums expended in anticipation of warfare had become insignificant indeed in comparison by the time the world-war broke out in 1914.

As the military value of every soldier depends largely upon the greater or less degree of perfection of his firearms, a natural consequence appears in the ceaseless endeavor of every state to improve upon the weapons of its rivals. From this rivalry springs one of the most important expenditures on armies. Naval forces demand even greater changes in armament. Millions are expended on new battleships and cruisers. But every year brings such radical improvements in guns, in speed, in coal-carrying capacity, that vessels hardly launched are obsolete and others must be built to replace them. Old vessels have scarcely any fighting value and are relegated to the junk heap. It is estimated that about two-sevenths of the value of a modern fleet is irrecoverably lost. Fortifications, visible from afar and easily passed or taken, have to be replaced by armed and fortified camps which can hardly be seen from a short distance, polygons with casemented quarters where whole armies may be sheltered.

Constant Changes in Armament and Fortifications

In consequence of the enormous expenditures on war, the essential peaceful requirements of the people remain unsatisfied. In Austria, at one time, sixty-seven and one-half million dollars were devoted to the army, while not quite fifteen million dollars were devoted to popular education. At the same time Italy devoted to education only one-eighth as much as to war, France one-fifth, Russia one-twelfth. In pleasing contrast to this is the budget of the United States. In 1913 we spent for education $521,546,375, against only $313,204,990 expended for our army and navy. A few years ago famine was desolating a large part of China, where millions were suffering torture and death. The starving people wandered from one stricken district to another, scratching roots and blades of grass from the soil and scraping bark from trees. Men sold their wives and children for a few dollars. Yet at the same time China was mustering and equipping an army to defend herself against the greed of other nations. This work went on, notwithstanding the ravages of the

How Militarism Affects Education

great famine, though the cost of each rifle ordered would, it is estimated, have saved three lives in the famine district. While a famine was prevailing in a section of Russia and twenty million were suffering, the government was pouring out money for guns and powder, though five dollars, the price of a hundred cartridges, would have saved a starving child's life. While the British government was spending hundreds of millions on the Boer War, the charity of the world had to save the lives of starving millions in India.

Militarism and Famine

Before the twentieth century world-war there had been no great struggle in Europe for over forty years. The present German army had never fought a battle. Yet the dress rehearsal, by land and sea, of an armed peace which finally invited war, cost the German people the services of over half a million able-bodied men, and in addition, compelled the men who did work, to scrape together millions and hundreds of millions in money reckoning to support the army in time of peace.

The war system is thus the most stupid thing in existence. It is the devotion of resources, not to the things that build up states and the industry and social welfare of men, but to the things that waste and devastate and destroy. Armed peace has proved so costly that the burden of it threatened social revolution in almost every European country. The destructiveness of modern warfare, with its frightful new weapons, has become so appalling that a long war can only bring universal bankruptcy and exhaustion of nations.

Stupidity of the War System

The present military system is stupid in still another way. England, for instance, believes that her safety from starvation and ruin depends upon her maintenance of a navy at least as strong as any other two fleets combined. Every time Germany builds a ship, England builds two. Then, of course, Germany has to build another. Again, England must build two, and so the mad race goes on. In 1899 Lord Salisbury declared that the expenditure

on armaments even then had reached such a scale as to threaten the world with a catastrophe in which civilization itself might disappear. The army and navy expenditures of Germany, England, France and Russia in six years' time increased twenty-two and one-half per cent. Thus is peace cursed with the imminent horror of war.

The United States is one of the three great nations that are independent as to food supplies, Austria and Russia being the others. But in case of prolonged war non-combatants (the women and children) of all other nations must suffer from the lack of food in time of war. What wheat and meat there are will rise to enormous prices, which the people, with reduced incomes because the support of the families, the men, is withdrawn, will be unable to buy. Moreover, with the interruption of ordinary communications, with the diminution in demand, factories, mines, workshops, with the exception of those whose products are necessary for the equipment of armies, are likely to be forced to discontinue working. And the people have no savings to fall back upon. Even in times of peace in the great industries wages hardly suffice for necessary food, which consists largely of potatoes and rye bread, according to investigations made by different governments, quoted by Block.

The Fate of Non-combatants

But not alone do the nations that are at war suffer, both combatants and non-combatants. The world has become so small and crowded that belligerents cannot fight without doing almost as much harm to neutrals as to combatants. "The shrinkage of the world under electricity and steam, the continual multiplication of the nerve fibres of civilization, the creation of new centres of commerce, new lines of cable, new services of steamship," make war of the nature of a pestilence or of a duel between two desperadoes on a crowded Broadway. If cowboys shoot and kill on the prairies, it concerns no one much but themselves, but on crowded thoroughfares it endangers the safety of the passers-by.

The Harm to Neutrals

Stories, Proverbs and Quotations

One murder makes a million; millions, a hero.

* * *

Peace feeds, war wastes; peace breeds, war consumes.

* * *

War begun, hell unchained.

* * *

That war only is just which is necessary.

* * *

War ruins those who succeed.

* * *

War is death's feast.

* * *

War is the son of hell.—*Shakespeare.*

* * *

When war is raging the laws are dumb.—*Cicero.*

* * *

Ez fer me, I call it murder—
There you have it plain and flat;
I don't have to go no further
Than my testyment fer that.

—*Riley.*

WAR AS AN INDUSTRY

Making Widows and Orphans for a Shilling

"What are you thinking, my man?" said Lord Hill to a soldier who was leaning moodily upon his bayonet, while around him lay the mangled bodies of thousands of French and English on the field of Salamanca. The soldier started, and after saluting his general, said, "I was thinking, my lord, how many widows and orphans I have this day made for a shilling."

AFTER THE BATTLE

Earth plowed with cannon shot, trees torn and mutilated, fields covered with wounded horses and mangled bodies, gnawed by dogs and vultures. All these creatures show in feature and attitude the extremes of suffering—staring, agonized eyes, hands ground into the earth, teeth

Emile Chatrousse

"THE CRIMES OF WAR—SLAVERY, RAPINE, AND MURDER."

clenched together under tortured, half-open lips, legs and arms rigid in the awful convulsions of death. Multitudes lie half-buried with faces partly shot off and bowels shot out. Out of newly-made graves hands and arms project stiff and stark above the earth. Fifty days after the battle of Borodino—where in twelve hours one hundred thousand of our fellow men sank to earth dead or wounded —fifty days after the battle no less than twenty thousand were found lying where they had fallen. At the hospitals, in the Napoleonic campaigns, there were such multitudes of amputated limbs that they could not be destroyed, but accumulated in bloody heaps, filling the air with corruption.—*Adapted from Baroness von Suttner's "Ground Arms" and Alison's "Peninsular War."*

Unspeakable Horrors of a Battlefield

INCONSISTENCIES OF WAR

At the battle of Austerlitz a division of Russian troops, under General Doctorov, being hemmed in by the French, attempted to cross the frozen ponds, Satschan and Melnitz. Napoleon trained his guns upon the ice beyond the fugitives, breaking it, and precipitating them into the water. The French artillery then ceased fire, and the Emperor ordered boats and rafts to be sent out in the attempt to save as many as possible of the survivors. Thousands were forced below the frozen surface of the ponds; barely hundreds were rescued. "Never battlefield was more horrible," says the official bulletin dispatched by the Emperor to Paris. "From the middle of the immense ponds one yet hears the cries of thousands of men whom one cannot save. One's heart bleeds." How compassionate that victor's heart! Yet, withal, he had deliberately repeated at Austerlitz the tactics of Aboukir, where the Sultan's great army was forced into the sea.—*Dr. Cohen.*

Drowning a Fleeing Enemy

* * *

Every nation has to-day its Red Cross Corps who are attached to the army to render help to the wounded.

First the destruction, then the succor! How admirably consistent!

* * *

Friendship and Steel-traps

Suppose a private gentleman, living in a suburban house, with his garden separated only by a fruit wall from his next door neighbor's, called me to consult with him on the furnishing of his drawing-room. I begin looking about me and find the walls rather bare; I think that such and such a paper might be desirable, perhaps a little fresco here and there on the ceiling, a damask curtain or so at the windows. "Ah," says my employer, "damask curtains indeed! That's all very fine, but you know I can't afford that kind of thing just now!" "Yet the world credits you with a splendid income!" "Ah, yes," says my friend, "but do you know, at present, I am obliged to spend it nearly all in steel-traps?" "Steel-traps! for whom?" "Why, for that fellow on the other side of the wall, you know; we're very good friends, capital friends, but we are obliged to keep our traps set on both sides of the wall; we could not possibly keep on friendly terms without them, and our spring guns. The worst of it is, we are both clever fellows enough; and there's never a day passes that we don't find out a new trap, or a new gun-barrel or something; we spend many millions a year each in our traps, take it all together, and I don't see how we are to do with less!"—*Ruskin.*

THE SIEGE OF GENOA

A Beautiful Italian City

Let me bring to your mind Genoa, called the Superb City of Palaces, dear to the memory of American childhood as the birthplace of Christopher Columbus, and one of the spots first enlightened by the morning beams of civilization; whose merchants were princes, and whose rich argosies in their early days introduced to Europe the choicest products of the East—the linen of Egypt, the spices of Arabia, and the riches of Samarkand. She still sits in queenly pride, as she did then, her mural crown

studded with towers, her churches rich with marble floors and rarest pictures, her palaces of ancient doges and admirals yet spared by the hand of time, her close streets thronged by one hundred thousand inhabitants, at the feet of the Maritime Alps as they descend to the blue and tideless waters of the Mediterranean Sea, leaning with her back against their strong mountain sides overshadowed by the foliage of the fig tree and the olive, while the orange and the lemon fill the air with their perfume.

The French Besieged in Genoa

In the autumn of 1799 the armies of the French Republic, which had dominated over Italy, were driven from their conquests and compelled, with shrunken forces under Massena, to seek shelter under the walls of Genoa. After various efforts by the Austrian general on the land, aided by a bombardment from the British fleet in the harbor, to force the strong defenses by assault, the city is invested by a strong blockade, all communication with the country is cut off on the one side, while the harbor is closed by the ever wakeful British watch-dogs of war. Within the beleaguered and unfortunate city are the peaceful inhabitants and the French troops. Provisions soon became scarce—scarcity sharpened into want, till fell famine, bringing blindness and madness in her train, rages like an Erinnys. Picture to yourself the large population not pouring out their lives in the exulting rush of battle, but wasting at noonday—the daughter by the side of the mother, the husband by the side of the wife. When grain and rice fail, flaxseed, millet and almonds are ground by hand mills into flour, and even grain baked in honey is eaten, not to satisfy but to deaden hunger. Prices rise to fearful heights, until finally there is nothing to be had at any price. The miserable soldiers, after devouring all the horses in the city, are reduced to the degradation of feeding on dogs, cats, rats and worms, which are eagerly hunted in the cellars and common sewers. Happy were now, exclaims an Italian historian, not those who lived but those who died! The day is dreary from hunger;

The Peaceful Inhabitants Starve with the Soldiers

the night more dreary still from hunger accompanied by delirious fancies. Recourse is now had to herbs. People of every condition seek on the slopes of the mountains enclosed within the defenses, those aliments which nature destined exclusively for the beast. Men and women, in the last anguish of despair, now fill the air with groans and shrieks, some in spasms, convulsions and contortions, gasping their last breath on the unpitying stones of the street. Children whom a dying mother's arms had ceased to protect, the orphans of an hour, with piercing shrieks seek in vain the compassion of the passing stranger; but none pity or aid them. The sweet fountains of sympathy are all closed by the selfishness of individual distress. In the general agony the more impetuous rush out of the gates and impale themselves on the Austrian bayonets or precipitate themselves into the sea. Others are driven to eat their shoes, and devour the leather of their pouches, and the horror of human flesh has so far abated that numbers feed like cannibals on the bodies of the dead.

A Fearful Picture of Famine

At this stage the French general capitulated, claiming and receiving what are called "the honors of war," but not before twenty thousand innocent persons, old and young, women and children, having no part or interest in the war, had died the most horrible of deaths.

—*Sumner.*

THE NET PURPORT AND UPSHOT OF WAR

Putting the Case Plainly

To my own knowledge there dwell in the British village of Dumdrudge usually some five hundred souls. From these "natural enemies" of the French there are successively selected during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men. Dumdrudge (note the word) at her own expense has suckled and nursed them; she has not without difficulty and sorrow fed them up to manhood and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another farm, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weep-

ing and swearing they are selected, all dressed in red and shipped away at the public charge some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain, and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot thirty similar French artisans from a French Dumdrudge in like manner are wending, till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition and thirty stand fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand.

Straightway the word "Fire!" is given, and they blow the souls out of one another, and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen the world has sixty dead carcasses which it must bury and anon shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; there was even unconsciously by commerce some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! Their governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.—*Carlyle.*

Avenging Their Governors' Quarrel

STORMING OF BADAJOZ, IN THE PENINSULAR WAR

Shameless rapacity, brutal intemperance, savage lust, cruelty and murder—shrieks and piteous lamentations, groans, shouts, imprecations, hissing of fires bursting from the houses, crashing of doors and windows, and the reports of muskets used in violence, resound for two days and nights in the streets of Badajoz. On the third, when the city was sacked, when the soldiers were exhausted by their excesses, the tumult rather subsided than was quelled.—*Napier quoted by Sumner.*

Men Turned Into Fiends

SIEGE OF SARAGOSSA

For weeks before the surrender of Saragossa the deaths were from four to five hundred daily, the living were unable to bury the dead, and thousands of carcasses scattered about the streets and courtyards, or piled in heaps at the doors of churches, were left to dissolve in

their own corruption or be licked up by the flames of the burning houses. The city was shaken to its foundations by sixteen thousand shells thrown during the bombardment and the explosion of forty-five thousand pounds of powder in the mines.—*Sumner.*

THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM

It was a summer evening,—
And Kaspar's work was done,
And he before his cottage door
Was sitting in the sun;
And by him sported on the green
His little grandchild, Wilhelmine.

She saw her brother Peterkin
Roll something large and round,
Which he beside the rivulet,
In playing there, had found;
He came to ask what he had found
That was so large and smooth and round.

Old Kaspar took it from the boy,
Who stood expectant by;
And then the old man shook his head,
And with a natural sigh,—
"'Tis some poor fellow's skull," said he,
"Who fell in the great victory.

"I find them in the garden,
For there's many here about;
And often, when I go to plough,
The ploughshare turns them out;
For many thousand men," said he,
"Were slain in that great victory."

"Now tell us what 'twas all about,"
Young Peterkin he cries;
And little Wilhelmine looked up

With wonder-waiting eyes;
"Now tell us all about the war,
And what they fought each other for."

"It was the English," Kaspar cried,
"Who put the French to rout;
But what they fought each other for
I could not well make out.
But everybody said," quoth he,
"That 'twas a famous victory.

"My father lived at Blenheim then,
Yon little stream hard by;
They burnt his dwelling to the ground,
And he was forced to fly;
So with his wife and child he fled,
Nor had he where to rest his head.

"With fire and sword the country round
Was wasted far and wide;
And many a childing mother there
And new-born baby died;
But things like that, you know, must be
At every famous victory.

"They say it was a shocking sight
After the field was won;
For many thousand bodies here
Lay rotting in the sun;
But things like that, you know, must be
After a famous victory.

"Great praise the Duke of Marlborough won,
And our good Prince Eugene."
"Why, 'twas a very wicked thing,"
Said little Wilhelmine.
"Nay, nay, my little girl," quoth he,
"It was a famous victory.

"And everybody praised the Duke
Who this great fight did win!"
"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Why, that I cannot tell," said he,
"But 'twas a famous victory."

—*Southey.*

There should be hung in each schoolroom, from the kindergarten up, the famous companion pictures of War and Peace. The peace festivals suggested at the International Conference of Teachers at Liége: the 22nd of February, the anniversary of Washington's birthday, and the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the Peace Conference at The Hague, should be observed with appropriate ceremonies. Care should be taken never to paint the glory of war—the glamour of flags and uniforms, the stirring music of martial bands, the thrill of victory. Accounts of warfare, like those of the sieges of Saragossa and Badajoz herein given, and of battlefields like Baroness von Suttner's in "Ground Arms," should be read to children to show how war degrades man to the level of the beast, depriving him of reason and self-control, of all sense of justice and good will. Henry V. did not have to say to his troops, "When the blast of war blows in your ears then imitate the action of the tiger," for war makes men tigers. War arouses the most ferocious passions in men.

How the Schools May Contribute to the Peace Idea

The principal subject of discussion at the Liége Conference, where eighteen countries were represented, was, how could the schools contribute to the peace idea? The conclusion reached was that the doctrine of peace should permeate all instruction and that the pupils be taught:

1. That there are not two kinds of morality, one for nations and one for individuals.
2. To respect the dignity and rights of others.

3. To feel brotherly love towards all peoples, without distinction of race, color or religion.
4. To respect all life, both of men and animals.
5. To make justice the basis of life.
6. Not to oppose love of country to love of humanity.

Peace societies are accomplishing much, but when all is said and done, the main work of apprenticing the nations to a love of peace must devolve upon parents and teachers. France, that has suffered so much from war, is leading in this work. During a single season many hundred illustrated lectures on peace and war are given by French teachers. Much can be done by emphasizing the things that unite nations instead of things that separate; by showing how, through co-operation, civilization can proceed by leaps and bounds because all work of the mind and spirit is international; by teaching the real nature of commerce, the equal exchange of service, the equal bargain not the "good" bargain; and by showing the real function of the military department of a nation to be that of defending the country when attacked, just as a fire department stands in readiness to put out a fire—both war and fire being misfortunes which no humane man could wish to inflict upon his neighbors.

Home and School the Strongest Factors in Peace Propaganda

The idea of settling international differences by reason not by force, by arbitration not by war, has made some progress in the world. While there has always been much objection to war, the doctrine of non-resistance has never met with favor. The feeling has been that war is often justified, even imperative, that wherever injustice is attempted war is justified.

Progress of the Idea of Arbitration

Though the doctrine of non-resistance has not been preached, an effective method of determining justice has been offered, and accepted to some extent by the nations. War, as has been shown, never determines justice. It simply determines which of the two contestants is the stronger. The better method is to substitute appeal to reason for appeal to force, the arbitrament of an interna-

tional tribunal or court instead of brute force; in other words, judicial procedure, investigation and decision by an impartial tribunal.

The Method of Judicial Procedure

The old method of arbitration, which has been resorted to off and on for a hundred years, is to be distinguished from the later, which acts by judicial procedure. In former arbitration, the court was formed after the dispute had arisen and was bi-partisan, with an umpire to decide between the partisans. In the later, the court is permanent and non-partisan. By The Hague Conference of 1899, the method of judicial procedure was adopted to settle international disputes, and an international tribunal established to do justice among nations, just as our Supreme Court settles disputes between states. It is called The Hague Tribunal. Recourse to it is optional.

What The Hague Tribunal Has Done

Since the Tribunal was established, the decision of many international questions has been left to it, such as the trouble with Venezuela in regard to the payment of debts to the creditor nations, and the differences between Chile and Argentina over boundary lines. Through its general influence making for arbitration, not war, to settle differences, forty treaties of arbitration, more or less obligatory, have been drawn, two of which agree to leave all questions to the Tribunal for settlement, and that between Chile and Argentina includes delimitation of armaments. Questions over boundaries have caused long and costly wars, with untold suffering. Baroness von Suttner in "Ground Arms" presents vivid pictures of the suffering entailed by wars over disputed territory between the Germanic and Austrian states. Some of these should be contrasted with the peaceful settlement of the South American trouble, by which justice was secured to both parties and not a life lost, not a drop of blood shed, not a village or home destroyed, not a cent of tax imposed upon the present or future generations. The frontier determined by the Tribunal is marked by a colossal and beautiful statue of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

Decisions have been rendered by the court in the following cases:

1902, Oct. 14th—In the case of the Pius Fund of the Californias between the United States and Mexico.

1904, Feb. 22nd—Respecting the preferential claims of the creditor nations of Venezuela under the protocols of May 7, 1903.

1905, May 22nd—In the difference between France, Germany and Great Britain on the one hand, and Japan on the other, respecting leases held in perpetuity.

1909, May 22nd—In the Casablanca deserters' dispute between France and Germany.

1909, Aug. 8th—In the dispute between Great Britain and France, respecting the right of certain Moscat Dhows to fly the French flag.

1909, Oct. 23rd—Respecting the maritime line between Norway and Sweden.

1910, Sept. 7th—In the North Atlantic Fisheries case between the United States and Great Britain.

1910, Oct. 25th—In the Orinoco Steamship case between the United States and Venezuela.

1911, Feb. 24th—In the "Savarkar" case between Great Britain and France.

1912, Nov. 11th—In the "Interest" case between Russia and Turkey.

1912, May 3rd—In the "Canevaro" case between Italy and Peru.

1913, May 6th—In the "Carthage" case between France and Italy.

1913, May 6th—In the "Manonba" case between France and Italy.

1914—In the Okhotsk cod-fisheries case between Japan and Russia.

1914—In the Toco nitrate difficulty between Chile and Bolivia.

Since 1913 the Court has met in the Palace of Peace at The Hague, a magnificent structure built largely at the

expense of Andrew Carnegie and embellished by several different nations.

The establishment of The Hague Tribunal marks the determination and application of the moral law, justice and good will, to the relations of nations.

The unit which is the foundation of society is the family. Out of the family grows the tribe, neighboring tribes become provinces or principalities. In America thirteen provinces or colonies, envious and jealous, laid aside all hostility in the face of a common peril and united, and, while preserving in large degree their own autonomy, formed a union of states. Freedom of trade and intercourse are guaranteed among them and their subsequent sister states. Congress expresses in laws the national opinions and interests, while the Supreme Court decides all the debatable questions that may arise between the several states, including those affecting integrity of territory and state honor. England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, have been formed in similar way out of separate principalities and provinces. In all these cases the hostility arising from ignorance and prejudices, from differences of dialect and provincial pride and passion, has been overcome by the bonds of commerce and law. Commerce between these provinces ceases to be war and becomes a mutual exchange of services, binding them together by a common interest.

How Colonies and Provinces Develop Into a Nation

A legislative body—Reichstag, Reichrath, Parliament, Assembly—discusses the provincial opinions brought together and out of them creates a public opinion which issues as national laws for the national welfare. The brotherhood has thus enlarged from that of the family, of the tribe, of the province, into that of the nation.

There remains yet to be consummated the brotherhood of man, so long dreamed of and foretold by Burns, Tennyson and Whitman, the fusion of the nations into a world organization, a world confederacy, just as provinces, kingdoms and states have been united into great nations—an

international union in which national prejudices shall disappear as provincial prejudices have done, and the interests of humanity shall be one, as the interests of all Englishmen in England, all Frenchmen in France, all Americans in the United States are one.

The movement looking toward such a union is under way. The establishment of The Hague Tribunal is the first step toward a court to adjudicate, and public opinion is urging the formation of an international legislature to determine the principles of justice governing the relations of nations. The solidarity of nations to-day gives rise to a thousand international problems. Such questions cannot be settled by the laws of nations in their own courts, for these differ among the several nations. For instance, English law holds that coal is not contraband of war, while Russian courts hold that it is.

The First Step Toward World Confederacy

Recognizing the necessity for a legislative body to do this work, the Interparliamentary Union at its session in 1904 called upon the nations to establish an international congress or parliament for the discovery of principles of law governing the relations of nations and their codification into an international code. The Interparliamentary Union consists of members from the different national legislative assemblies who meet periodically for the discussion of international questions. Though composed of delegates from the different national assemblies, it has no official recognition from their various governments. It has been proposed that this Union be given advisory powers at first, similar to those exercised by the Postal Union, which has no power to determine what shall be the postal laws of the different nations, but whose advice and suggestions are generally adopted by the nations represented. The next step would be to grant it legislative power, which would mark an advance toward the world's federation.

The Next Step Must Be an International Congress

We are so far from such a consummation that it seems almost a Utopian dream to think of a world parliament

legislating on subjects which are international in character; yet to doubt that such a legislative body could be established and perform its proper functions is to forget that more than one hundred years ago such a legislative body did meet and settle the affairs of Europe—the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

It was hoped that the Peace Conference of 1907 would transform The Hague Tribunal into a more permanent and compact body of fifteen or so members, jurists of such eminence as to lift it above the suspicion of personal or national prejudices, a body which would meet annually and be paid by joint contributions from the countries represented, and that resort to it for the arbitrament of international grievances would be made compulsory, and that it would be invested with powers like those possessed by the Supreme Court of the United States. The plan failed, but there is no doubt that a later Conference will take the step.

Federation of the World Is Coming

When an international parliament and supreme court are established, carrying, through their laws and their writs, the blessings of justice and peace throughout the world, then shall be largely realized the brotherhood of man, the federation of the world.

QUOTATIONS ADAPTED FROM TENNYSON'S LOCKSLEY HALL

Till the war drum throb no longer and the battle flags
are furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm
in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law,

All the full-brain, half-brain races, led by Justice, Love
and Truth;
All the millions, one at length, with all the vision of my
youth.

When the schemes and all the systems, kingdoms and republics fall,
Something kindlier, higher, holier—all for each and each for all.

Earth at last a warless world, a single race, a single tongue—
I have seen her far away—for is not earth as yet so young?

FREEDOM

Here is the forest now,
As on that old July
When first our fathers took the vow.
The bluebird, stained with earth and sky,
Shouts from a blowing bough
In green, aerial freedom, wild and high,
And now, as then, the bobolink
Out on the uncertain brink
Of the swaying maple swings,
Loosing his song out link by golden link,
While over the wood his proclamation rings,
A daring boast that would unkingdom kings!

Even so the wild birds sang on bough and wall
That day the bell of Independence Hall
Thundered upon the world the word of man,
The word of God uttered when the world began—
That day when liberty began to be
And mighty hopes were out on land and sea.
But Freedom calls her conscripts, now as then;
It is an endless battle to be free.
As the old dangers lessen, from the skies
New dangers rise.
Down the long centuries eternally,
Again, again will rise Thermopylae;
Again, again, a new Leonidas
Must hold for God the imperiled pass.

As the long ages run
New Lexington will rise on Lexington,
And many a valorous Warren fall
Upon the imperiled wall.

Man is the conscript of an endless quest,
A long divine adventure without rest,
A holy war, a battle yet unwon
When he shall climb beyond the burnt out sun.
Each hard-earned freedom withers to a bond;
Freedom forever is beyond—beyond!

—*Edwin Markham.*

STANZAS ON FREEDOM

Is true freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hands, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free.
They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak,
They are slaves, who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think.
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—*Lowell.*

While a hatred of war should be inculcated, yet the instinctive love of fighting in the boys, a survival of primitive life, the race-old lust of strife and conflict, should be utilized, not destroyed. If we would not make milksops of the boys, we must give them the moral

equivalent of war, something that will appeal to the fighting instinct, to the heroic strain as universally as war, yet which shall be an agent of salvation instead of destruction. That brute instinct for fighting, which for centuries manifested itself in military warfare and lately in industrial warfare, must be made the instrument of social service.

The battle-field is ready to their hand. The truly social life to-day is, paradoxically, one of warfare,—a struggle for the common good. The boys must be made soldiers in this moral warfare. The goal? The reign of justice, the establishment of equality, the abolition of privilege— America in reality what she now is only in form. The weapons? Not the sword or the bullet, but the ballot, which can down any wrong, no matter how strongly entrenched. The armor? Love of humanity, passion for justice, for liberty, for equality. The captains? All those who in the various states and cities are leading in this civic and social warfare. The enemy? The lawbreaker, whether rich or poor, whether individual or corporation, whether private citizen or public official; the bribe-giver and bribe-taker; all who from lust of power or greed wrest from humanity its right to life, liberty, comfort and happiness.

Soldiers for the Common Good

Boys should be made to realize that they are soldiers in this moral warfare, whether they will or not, and that it depends upon them whether they fight manfully and courageously or act the part of skulkers and deserters. Above all, should they realize that those who work solely for their own interests are traitors to the public good.

Civic and Social Warfare

Paint the warfare in glowing colors, grand and stirring. Girdle it with perils, fill it with adventures. Appeal to the instincts and passions which God has put into the heart of youth, instincts which crave excitement and perilous enterprise, instincts which can be made mighty forces to pull down the fortresses of social and civic wrong, and to crush the enemies of the public good.

CHAPTER XII

THE COURTS

Poise the cause in justice' equal scales,
Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails.
—*Shakespeare.*

Do not your juries give their verdict
As if they felt the cause, not heard it?
—*Butler.*

THE law of justice is, in a greater or less degree, universal. Herbert Spencer shows that there is even a sub-human justice. Among animals in general there is the law of relation between conduct and consequence; that is, that each individual receives the benefits and injuries that result from its nature and its consequent conduct. Among animals of some degree of organization, like deer, rooks, crows, justice becomes more decided. Among such animals as the bee and the beaver, where there is a high degree of organization and co-operation, the law assumes a higher form; viz., that while each individual is permitted to experience the good and the evil that are the logical result of its nature and consequent conduct, it must order its conduct subject to the restriction that it shall not, in any large degree, hinder the conduct by which any other individual achieves benefit or brings on itself injury. When, for instance, an elephant becomes obnoxious, by its conduct, to the other members of the herd, it is expelled by them. It lives the life of an outcast and becomes known among men as a "rogue" elephant. It is said by naturalists that colonies of beavers expel idle members, and that flocks of crows have been seen to kill an offending brother. The slaughter or the expulsion of the drones

Sub-human Justice

by the worker-bees is another case where justice is a necessary condition to harmonious co-operation, even among the lower animals, and where penalty follows upon any breach of it.

As children too often obtain the impression that justice is an arbitrary matter, something imposed from without and not a law of nature, and as many adults believe, or, at least, act as if they believe, that they can escape the consequences of their bad conduct and that they can do as they please regardless of others, this universality of the law should be early impressed upon children. This law of justice among the lower animals affords parents and teachers many excellent teaching points in morals.

Universality of Law

Passing to the highest animal, man, the degree of justice and the degree of organization advance simultaneously. Among tribes of loose organization, there is a low degree of justice. Among highly organized peoples there is a high degree. The connection between organization and co-operation, or solidarity, on the one hand, and the law of justice, on the other, is clear. The advantages of co-operation can be secured only by conformity to certain requirements which association imposes. When men live in close proximity and each pursues his own ends regardless of others, they mutually hinder each other, quarrels result, and the injuries offset the benefits of the association. But when each observes a due regard for the limits imposed by the presence of others, the advantages offset the disadvantages of the association. Thus organization and justice make simultaneous advances.

Justice and Organization Advance Together

In primitive society it is commonly left to the injured to revenge himself on the injurer. In feudal times, it was generally held to be the individual's private concern to defend and enforce his claims. But slowly and steadily there has grown up a perception of the need for the arbitrament of justice and the infliction of punishment by the community as a whole through its established agents. Through its legislative bodies the state to-day makes

laws enacting restrictions on personal conduct and punishments for breaking them. Through its courts it publicly arbitrates between man and man. This is one of the primary functions of the state, the public administration of justice. The courts are its agents for defending its component parts against each other.

High Function of Courts of Justice

With the progress of a country in civilization, the administration of justice continues to extend and become more efficient. In a highly civilized, a highly organized and co-operative country, the courts administer a high degree of justice, their procedure and the form of law answering the three requirements laid down by Justice Emblen of England, as they are "simple, intelligible and useful." Such courts are, or should be, objects of deepest respect and reverence. The army defends the nation from the foes without; the courts defend its members against each other. Thus, their function is one of the highest the state has to exercise. Rightly are the courts called the *temples* of justice, for they are, or should be, holy places. They are God's instruments to do justice among men, on earth.

This is the view of the courts that the children should be taught to hold: that they are a natural and necessary product of human life carried on under social conditions; that their function is of the greatest beneficence—to render justice between men; that they represent the abstract justice of the people in the administration of law.

When Courts Do Not Render Justice

When the courts fail to perform their function properly, when they fail to render justice, they lose popular respect and confidence, reverence for law disappears, the bonds of organization relax—and lawlessness ensues. There is then a reversion of society to primitive times, when individuals took the punishment for injury into their own hands.

It is said that of all civilized countries the United States has the least respect for law. Whether that be true or not, there is a wide disrespect for it and the feel-

ing is growing. What, then, is the condition of our courts? William H. Taft has said that the administration of criminal law in all our states, with the exception of a few, is a danger to our civilization. Theodore Roosevelt, the Deans of the Law Schools in the University of Nebraska and Northwestern University of Chicago, Justices Brewer and Brown of the Supreme Court, Andrew D. White, and many other noted lawyers and judges, agree that the administration of criminal law in the United States has nearly, if not quite, broken down. The temples of justice have become temples of injustice. It is plainly to be seen that in very many cases their criminal procedure allows criminals to escape the just penalty of their acts, and works to the advantage of the wealthy offender.

The Condition of Courts in the United States

Because of the growing lawlessness, resulting directly from the failure of the courts to defend man against man, it is important that the causes of the failure be understood, so that the character and the public opinion that in the future will remedy the evil may be formed.

Publicists point out five general causes for the failure of American courts. The first two relate to defects in the American temperament which seriously affect action in the jury box. They are the causes of the growing distrust of jury trial. But the jury is an important part of our system, and justice, respect and observance of law is as important in the jury box as on the judge's bench.

Two Defects in American Temperament

The first of these defects in the American temperament is a lack of respect for law as law. The American seems born without a law sense. He differs widely in this respect from the English, the Germans, and the Scandinavians. The absence of the law sense is, partly, a heritage from the pioneer and frontier life of his ancestors, the conditions of whose environment necessitated that each man become, largely, a law unto himself; and it is partly the result of the increasing absence of well-defined laws in the home. Students of the subject say that, in

consequence of this inborn lawlessness, even when a man does not break law himself, he feels a pity and sympathy for the criminal, believing that he himself might, under the same circumstances, commit the same crime.

The only way to create the law sense is by training the child from its earliest years in habits of obedience to law and respect for it, as often indicated elsewhere in this Series of volumes. The constant use of the three principles of conduct will contribute largely to this end.

Curious Sentimentality of Americans

The second defect in the American temperament is a certain curious sentimentality. As this trait has been discussed elsewhere, only its bearing upon criminal procedure will be considered here. Invariably there is evidenced a sentimental tenderness for a man or woman accused of crime. No matter how revolting the offense, how many the victims, or how great the injury to society, flowers, fruit, and letters of sympathy are sent in profusion to the cell, petitions for mercy are largely signed, courtrooms are crowded with sympathizing spectators, and the sensational newspapers are filled with "emotional slush." The reason for this sentimental attitude toward criminals seems to be this: We have passed, owing to the exigencies of life on a new continent and of a new industrial era, through a reign of individualism, which precluded any training of the social imagination. Consequently, we can see only what is before us, what is visible and tangible. We see the culprit in the prison dock; we

Lack of Social Imagination

see the anguish and disgrace of his innocent family—the lovely wife, the aged parents, the tender children. They are before our eyes, carefully placed there for effect, with all proper accessories, by the acute lawyers for the defense, who appreciate this sentimental strain in their countrymen and adroitly cater to it, helped by the press with its false pathos and fustian. We can then picture the dreadful consequences to the criminal's family and friends, but through lack of social imagination we are unable to perceive the real enormity of the offense or the

consequences of acquittal to the injured community whom we do not see.

What is the effect in the jury box of this lack of law sense due to our inborn lawlessness and sentimentality? What is the effect of extending the reign of sentiment into the field of law, where it has no legitimate jurisdiction? Experts in working upon the American temperament, many lawyers disregard statutory law for the most part and appeal to the emotions of the jury. Jurors, surcharged with sentiment by counsel and overcome by spectacular emotional scenes, allow feeling to govern them, and also disregard the law. "Usurping a function never entrusted to them, they condone the offense and pardon the offender," an eminent jurist has recently declared.

The Effect in the Jury Box

The function of the jury is to decide questions of fact: that and nothing else. It is, emphatically, not its business to dispense justice apart from the law. A jury may commend a prisoner to the mercy of the court, but it does not fall within its province to extend that mercy. As a result then of the serious defects in our national temperament, trial by jury has largely lost popular favor.

The truths to be impressed upon children, who will sooner or later be called to serve as jurors, are these: that all the prisoner has a right to is a fair trial, a full opportunity to prove his innocence; that juries represent the country, not the prisoner; that their only function is to decide questions of fact. Pains should be taken to make the children realize the wrongs suffered by society through the crime on trial before a jury. Of course, in the schoolroom no local trials should be used for illustration. In the home, on the contrary, these best serve the purpose, as local wrongs can be better visualized. There should be vividly painted, also, the evils that result from the miscarriage of justice: the encouragement given to criminals, the contempt for the laws and courts engendered, the reign of mob law or lawlessness that follows.

Training Future Jurors

The third cause for the failure of American courts is the influence of the sensational press. The yellow newspapers, "with their fake interviews, their lying rumors, their worked-up heart-interest," their constant harping, with exaggerated sentiment and hysterical pleading, on the side that appeals to the passions of its readers, inject an unfounded prejudice into the community from which the jury must be drawn. Every intelligent man reads the newspapers and everyone is influenced, more or less, by what he reads. The result is that the jury is drawn either from those who do not read the papers, the illiterate and unintelligent, or else from those who, unconsciously predisposed to a certain point of view, are unable to judge the facts fairly. If the verdict is not that desired by the newspapers, immediately the cry is raised that judge and jury have been suborned. The press itself thus largely helps to cast discredit upon the courts. The only way to guard the child from these fatal influences is to develop the habit of independent thinking and acting.

Evils Wrought by Sensational Press

These three causes for the failure of our courts have to do with the jury box. But the home and the schools can do much, by the formation of character, to make the jury what it should be as an essential part of our law machinery.

The other two causes are concerned with the criminal procedure itself. The first of these is the code of proceedings, with its complicated rules and technical statutory limitations. The object of a criminal code is to facilitate the dispensing of justice. It is simply a means to an end. But the spirit of professionalism, which aims at technical niceties, placing them above realities, has entered into the field, and obscured the real object. Instead of the criminal code being a means to an end, it has become the end. The means of securing justice has been placed above justice itself. By reason of these technicalities, there is infinite delay and waste of time. One authority says of these delays that there is "a foretaste of

Infinite Delay in Securing Justice

eternity between arrest and indictment, between indictment and trial, in the trial, and between trial and punishment." Yet it is a truism that the speedy administration of justice is of the greatest value to society. The Red Queen's instant command, "Off with her head," did not allow time for righteous anger to cool nor hatred of wrongdoing to lessen.

The subject of delays in our courts is too large to be discussed here in detail. Only two phases of it will be considered: the delays allowed by the technicalities in impanelling a jury, and those allowed by the elaborate discussions respecting admissibility of evidence. In the case of the Carmack murder trial, twenty-five days were consumed and three thousand and nineteen men examined before the jury of twelve men was selected. In the Shea trial, nearly three months were thus consumed, six thousand citizens being examined. These instances are typical of the great waste of time in this connection. In England, on the contrary, it often takes only three hours to impanel a jury.

Delays in Impanelling Jury

Because of the statutory limitations in this country as to the qualifications of a juror, because it is difficult to get men unbiased in their judgment by what they have read on the case, because men refuse to serve on account of the time consumed in the long-drawn-out trials, the jurors finally selected are often ignorant and illiterate. The press reported that in the Carmack trial, four of the jurors could neither read nor write, two understood English only indifferently, and one had not read a paper for ten years. Ex-Governor Guild speaks of the report of a judge in Massachusetts, who had on one of his juries an imbecile, a drunkard in the last stages of delirium tremens, and a man who had asked to be excused because he was just out of the House of Correction. In view of all this it is not strange that the jury part of our system is falling into disrepute. Certainly, a modern jury trial is, too often, *not* a trial by one's peers.

The Jury System Is Falling Into Disrepute

Then the countless technical niceties of the rules allow elaborate discussions respecting the admissibility of evidence, and an enormous amount of time is consumed in the examination of witnesses. Because appeals from the decision of the trial court may be based upon technical errors in the admission or rejection of testimony, or an error in the technical phraseology of the form of a question, there is endless wrangling by the lawyers, and the trial judges sometimes dismiss court in order to retire and look up the technicality in question, a technicality having nothing whatever to do with the substance of the case.

Waste of Time Over Technicalities

In short, these technicalities allow interminable delays, unlimited cross-examinations, repeated postponements, demurrers, appeals, new trials, etc. So great is the law's delay, so enormous the resulting cost, that whole counties have rejoiced over the escape of an offender, if they have not actually connived at it in order to avoid a trial. The system, moreover, works greatly to the advantage of wealthy criminals, who can employ acute lawyers, versed in every technicality, to use the law to escape law. The poor, on the other hand, suffer countless grievous wrongs because they "cannot afford to go to trial."

The last and, probably, the most powerful cause of the failure of our courts is the system of appeals. The American system differs fundamentally from the English. In England, the appellate court disregards all appeals based upon error in any matter of practice or pleading or evidence, unless fundamental to the case. No verdict is set aside and a new trial ordered unless the appellate judge believes, from all the evidence, that the truth has not been reached, that the verdict is not just. The appeal, in short, must be based upon substantive points.

Abuse of the Privilege of Appeal

In America, on the contrary, appeal is practically unlimited, being based upon both substantive and technical points. When the verdict is against the prisoner, his lawyers may appeal, not because the verdict is unjust, but

because technical errors have been committed by the trial judge in the conduct of the trial, though these errors have nothing to do with the question of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. "If the lawyers can show that their client's technical rights have been invaded, he is entitled to a new trial and may go scot-free," says a distinguished judge. The custom is founded upon the theory that where error, no matter how technical, has been committed, prejudice follows.

Owing to the complicated rules of procedure discussed above, it is almost impossible for even the ablest trial judge, who, moreover, must settle a disputed point instantly, to avoid committing technical errors; hence, the difference in the percentage of the cases remanded for new trial in England and America. In the former country, between 1890 and 1900, only three and one-half per cent of the cases brought to the appellate court were granted a new trial. In the latter country, the committee of the American Bar Association appointed to investigate the subject found that forty-seven per cent of all the cases brought to the appellate court were granted new trials. And since that report the evil has greatly increased. To sum up the differences between the two systems: In England a new trial is granted if the judgment is not just; in America, if technical error is found. "In the one country," says a recent writer upon the subject, "the object of the courts is the obtainment of justice; in the other, the worship of the technicalities and the niceties of the law."

Comparing Appeals in England and America

As a result of this system of appeals, decisions are set aside and new trials ordered until the records show that certain cases have traveled up and down the courts four, five, and even six times—and are still traveling! Because of this doctrine that where error is found prejudice may have followed, appellate judges have more than once liberated criminals of whose guilt they had no doubt. Something like the following is not uncommon in the annals of

Iniquitous Results

the appellate courts: We regret exceedingly to reverse this cause, for the record leaves not the slightest room for doubt of the defendant's guilt, but there is no telling what the jury would, or would not, have done if such and such evidence had, or had not, been admitted.

Authorities upon the subject say that public prosecutors, knowing the strength of the privilege of appeal, have on many occasions decided that it was inexpedient to prosecute.

This system throws every advantage on the side of the rich offender, who can avail himself of every technical error to wear out the patience and the pocket-book of his prosecutor. The small offender, the man who steals a ham or a dozen eggs, pays the penalty of his crime, but the wealthy criminal too often escapes. At the time of the Molyneux trial, a New York paper said no wealthy man in that state had been convicted of murder in the last twenty years.

Advantages to the Rich Criminal

When criminal procedure was evolving in the old despotic or oligarchic states, the individual was in danger from irresponsible courts representing the government, and the laws were framed to safeguard his rights. To-day, so thoroughly is the individual protected by the criminal procedure, it is almost impossible to convict an innocent man. But it has also become difficult to convict a guilty man, if he avail himself of the law's technicalities. Judicial procedure has become, in short, so complicated, so technical, that it "gives aid and comfort to criminals," and society is menaced by the virtual immunity of its criminals from punishment. The situation is thus reversed. It is society to-day that is suffering at the hands of irresponsible individuals.

Virtual Immunity of Criminals from Punishment

Outraged and disgusted with its defenselessness, society is rebelling and is taking the law in its own hands. It resorts to mob law, and the individual is again where he started centuries ago—unprotected, not from irresponsible judges, but from irresponsible mobs. To be con-

vinced that the failure of our system of judicial procedure is responsible for much of our mob rule, it is only necessary to compare England's and America's records. In the British Empire in the last seventy-five years, according to Judge Amidon, "not one case is reported of a man being snatched from the custody of the law and subjected to mob violence." In the United States, during the years from 1885 to 1915, 3583 lynchings occurred. In the year 1915, there were 78 lynchings, all but one taking place in the South. In that same year, 1915, there were but 94 legal executions. The mob takes upon itself the duties of judge, jury, and executioner largely because the regularly constituted tribunals of justice have broken down. And to the extent to which mob law prevails, society reverts towards savagery. These disgraceful facts should stir this nation out of its smug self-satisfaction and conceit. Systematic measures should be inaugurated to blot out this evil.

Mob Violence the Result of Delayed Justice

What are the remedies proposed to render justice quick and speedy and to give equality before the law—the same advantages for the poor as for the wealthy?

1. Greater expedition in the trial court, both in impanelling a jury and examination of witnesses.

2. Disregard of errors affecting only the technical rights of the defendant, making the question, Is the judgment just? and not, Has there been technical error?

Yet the statutes of the New York criminal code contain the second provision and in no state is the evil greater. Whatever statutes may say, their observance, in the last analysis, depends upon the *character* of the people—the character of the community, of the lawyers, of the jurors, of the judges. It is, therefore, a pressing obligation resting upon the home, the church, and the school, to create both the cool, sane, self-controlled character that shall love and render justice, and also the public opinion that shall demand reason, sober sense, and regard for law in criminal and jury trials.

Remedy Depends upon Character of the Community

Quotations

If the law be continually despised and disregarded, if their rights to be secure in their person and property are held by no better tenure than the caprice of a mob, the alienation of their affections from the government is the natural consequence, and to that, sooner or later, it must come.—*Lincoln.*

* * *

If the people demand prompt and unquestioning obedience to the people's laws, and shall give this demand an ample sanction in swift, sure and grievous retribution for all rebellions to those laws, the people's rule will be real.

—*Ex-Secretary Bonaparte.*

* * *

The two supreme dangers that menace a democratic state are despotism on the one hand and mob rule on the other.—*Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court.*

* * *

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law, not even the most terrible offense.—*Lincoln.*

* * *

A wise judge by the craft of the law was never seduced from its purpose.—*Southey.*

* * *

With an equal scale,
He weighs th' offence betwixt man and man;
He is not moved with adulation,
Nor moved with tears, to wrest the course of justice
Into an unjust current; t'oppress the innocent;
Nor does he make the laws
Punish the man, but in the man the cause.

—*Swetnam.*

* * *

Delay of justice is injustice.—*Walter Savage Landor.*

* * *

It is the public justice that holds the community together.—*Burke.*

If they which employ their labor and travail about the public administration of justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that justice is God's own work, and themselves His agents in this business—the sentence of right, God's own verdict, and themselves His priests to deliver it, formalities of justice do but serve to smother right; and that which was necessarily ordained for the common good is, through shameful abuse, made the cause of common misery.—*Hooker.*

* * *

In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt,
But, being seasoned with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil.

—*Shakespeare.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE MAKING OF LAWS

The first maxim of a free state is, that the laws be made by one set of men and administered by another; in other words, that the legislative and judicial characters be kept separate.
—*William Paley.*

LEGISLATURES are, primarily, the law-making bodies. They are the forums in which, by means of representatives, the people debate public questions and decide upon public policies. Such institutions are regarded as the foundations of civil liberty. They are the instrumentalities by which the people attain self-government. They are regarded as the main bulwarks against the encroachments of the executive: in a country, against the tyranny of a king; in a colony, against the oppressive exactions of a governor. Legislatures have rendered great and indispensable service in the cause of political liberty.

The Voice of the People

The problems to-day in the United States, however, are mainly those of industrial liberty, and our legislative bodies, whether municipal, state, or federal, are failing to meet general expectation. Many of our city councils have become synonyms for corruption and inefficiency. In the various states a sigh of relief arises when the legislature adjourns, and the initiative and referendum are being used to remedy their shortcomings. The national legislature is regarded with more or less distrust, and the people succeed in obtaining from it only a fraction of what they desire.

Shortcomings of Legislative Bodies in the United States

The modern legislative body suffers from two handicaps: that of opportunity for control by "predatory interests," and that of inefficiency. The first is seen in

the control of small legislative bodies, such as city councils and state legislatures, by the "machine" and the lobby. In large legislative bodies there is no efficiency except by the committee system. But this system, while promoting the more rapid conduct of business, means the sacrifice of both its representative and deliberative character, since it places the determination of policies in the hands of a few leaders.

Handicaps in Modern Legislation

There is room here only for the discussion of the processes of national law-making. It is not the purpose to give the anatomy of law-making institutions, but rather to penetrate to the secrets of their functions.

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

There are two kinds of democracy—pure and representative. The former obtained in Greece where all the freemen assembled in the agora and determined the public policy. The town meeting of New England is the best modern example of pure democracy. As states increased in size and population, as the business of life grew more complex and the problems of government more complicated, people were no longer able to attend to public business and so chose certain of their number to represent them in the legislative body. Thus sprang up representative democracy, the usual form of the modern democratic state. These representatives are generally chosen by the majority vote of the electors, a fair enough method when the system originated. In England, for instance, the Tories lived for the most part in the country, the Whigs pretty generally in the cities; so a Tory representative in the Commons practically represented all his constituency, as did the Whig representative from the city. But to-day by this method, representatives very often represent but little more than half of their constituency, or, if plurality voting obtains, even less than half. In Indiana, Kansas, Texas and many other states, sometimes nearly one half of the people may not be repre-

Modern Democracy Not Purely Representative

sented. The Lower House of Congress is not, therefore, a truly representative body.

In the legislatures of all nations, the lower house, being elected directly by the people and for short periods, is considered the people's forum. From it the people speak. It is here that the popular will finds expression and receives consideration. Our House of Representatives was the forum of the people until a few years ago. Debate was practically unlimited. It was the dominant branch of Congress. Indeed, publicists seriously advocated the abolition of the Senate, so useless and moribund a thing it seemed.

The People's Forum

In the '80's, legislation in the House began to be greatly hindered through the obstructive methods used by the minority. Representative institutions rest on the principle of government by majorities, but they include also the protection of the rights of the minority. This protection secures against hasty legislation and against action by small majorities that represent, perhaps, an actual minority of the electors. But by the Fifty-first Congress the minority was using the protection afforded by the rules to thwart the legislation of a responsible majority. The power of a minority to obstruct business is justifiable only when the majority attempts to hurry through measures to which the attention of the country should be called. But obstruction was carried so far that it defeated the object for which a legislature exists, namely, to do business. Speakers of previous Congresses had allowed obstruction to flourish, but Mr. Reed, the Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, resolved that public business should no longer be blocked thus.

Former Power of Minority to Obstruct Business

The principal devices of obstruction are only two: breaking a quorum by refusing to vote and interposing dilatory motions. Mr. Reed secured a quorum by ordering the clerk to record the names of those present and refusing to vote, and he disregarded all motions and appeals, however parliamentary in themselves, which, on

their face, were made purely for delay. Mr. Reed's rules were finally adopted as a part of the new Code of Rules and became the foundation of that rapid growth of the power of the Speaker, which gave that functionary a greater influence over legislation than is exerted, authorities on government assert, by any other man in the world.

The concentration of power in the Speaker's hands has been greatly aided by two factors: Both Mr. Reed and his predecessor, Mr. Carlisle, considered it the Speaker's duty to be the leader of Congress, to have a definite legislative policy and to endeavor in every way to secure its enactment. The other factor has been the great growth of business. In the First Congress only 189 bills were introduced in both Houses, in the Twentieth Congress, only 561. In the first session of the Sixtieth Congress 22,272 bills were introduced in the House alone! In order to facilitate the transaction of business, with this flood of bills, the Speaker was granted first one power and then another, with no attempt to foresee consequences or to reorganize the machinery of government in a scientific way. His powers became so great that until recent changes went into effect, he dominated the House. In fact, the legislation rushed through the House by the arbitrary rule of the majority was generally regarded as the legal enactment of the Speaker, the committees and the caucus. Indeed, the House of Representatives was often derisively called the House of the Speaker.

Multiplicity of Bills

Resulting Autocratic Power of the Speaker

The three rights which gave this presiding officer such power were these: the right to name the committees, his right of recognition, and his right of chairmanship of the Committee on Rules. 1. Committees.—The membership of the House has become so large and unwieldy, and the number of bills so many, that there has grown up and become perfected a system of legislation through committees. Bills when introduced are referred to committees, and almost all the legislation of the House is

considered and passed upon, and, it may almost be said, enacted in the committee rooms.

The Rules gave the Speaker the power to appoint the committees and their chairmen. He was not compelled to submit the list to the House for its approval. There was no opportunity for protest or appeal from his arrangements. As Speakers regarded themselves as leaders of their parties with certain policies to be carried out, the committees were formed with this end in view. It is widely believed that chairmen were often appointed with the understanding that they should favor or disfavor certain legislation. However that may be, if the Speaker favored child-labor legislation, the committee to which such bills would be referred, would have a majority of its members favoring such measures. If he was opposed to a large navy, the committee would be so formed as to report adversely any bill for a large number of battleships. The construction of the committees afforded an index of the character of the legislation for the next two years.

Speaker Ruled Through Committees

Thus the Speaker effectively controlled legislation, for no bill was brought up for discussion or action unless the committee to which it was referred, saw fit to report it, and there was, practically, no way to compel a committee to report.

Over a bill the committee had absolute control. The custom of bringing in bills and referring them was nothing but a form. Since they could amend a bill as they pleased, changing it sometimes so completely that its author might work against its passage; since, by reporting it adversely or not reporting it at all, they could kill a bill, the committees might as well have been allowed to introduce all legislation. Legislation thus really rested with the committees. But the Speaker appointed the committees.

Legislation Rested with Committees

2. Recognition.—When a bill was reported, it rested with the Speaker to decide whether it should be called up

and considered. The Speaker had the right to recognize, or refuse to recognize, any member on the floor, and long usage had given him the right to ask a member what his purpose was in seeking recognition. If the Speaker did not favor the bill the member wished called up, he might refuse to recognize him for that purpose. The custom, moreover, had grown up to appeal to the Speaker for recognition, not from the floor but personally, in his own room, that Speaker's Room that was regarded as "the graveyard of representatives' rights." The opportunity to call up or speak upon a bill in which a member and his constituents were interested thus became no longer a right, but a privilege that must be begged for as a favor!

Misuse of Right of Recognition

3. Rules.—The Committee on Rules was appointed by the Speaker and consisted, besides himself, of two members of his own, and two of the opposite party. These latter being in the minority seldom attended the sittings of the committee, of which the Speaker was chairman. The original function of the committee was to decide upon the order in which the bills reported from committees should be taken up. By a rapid concentration of power in its hands, the committee decided not only what measures should be considered, but how long debates should last and at what time the vote should be taken. All who favored an important bill directed all their efforts to get the committee "to report a rule," that is, to permit the House to reach a vote on the measure. The rule was laid without discussion before the House by a majority vote. For important measures the time allowed by the rule was generally two days; for less important measures, often not more than an hour. The rule adopted, the chairman of the committee in charge of the bill and the leader of the opposition could apportion the time and select such members of the House as they desired to speak to the question. Other members must remain silent, all debate other than that allowed by the rule being shut off. Thus free speech no longer existed on the floor of the House.

Committee on Rules Dominated by Speaker

The people, through their representatives, had not equal opportunity to take part in legislation.

Only one or two illustrations of the autocratic power exercised by the Speaker may be given here. In the early '90's a measure relating to the construction of the Panama Canal was introduced and referred to a committee. It was reported and placed upon the calendar. The Speaker believed that the measure was wrong. He did not allow the bill to be called from the calendar. A petition signed by a large majority of the House besought him to allow it to be considered. Petitions from chambers of commerce, boards of trade and other prominent bodies, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, asked for the consideration of the bill. The bill was never taken from the calendar. It does not matter whether the Speaker was right or wrong in his contention that the measure was harmful, it was one-man rule. It was autocracy.

For Example, the Speaker and the Panama Canal

In one Congress a measure for the preservation of certain great forests in the East, a measure recommended by the President, passed without dissent by the Senate, unanimously recommended by the committee on agriculture of the previous Congress, heartily supported by the press of the country and the great civic associations, was opposed by the Speaker. The measure was referred by the new Committee on Agriculture (appointed by the Speaker) to the Committee on Judiciary (also appointed by the Speaker), with the avowed object of securing an opinion on its constitutionality. The committee, being composed of strict constructionists, reported adversely. The House was not allowed to consider whether the measure was constitutional or wise.

For Example, the Speaker and Conservation of Forests

In these ways the struggle of the people to govern themselves was thwarted in what was originally intended to be the popular branch of Congress.

There has developed in the last few years a strong opposition to the system which placed legislation so entirely in the hands of one man, or, at the best, in the hands

of a few. A determined effort has been made to restore to the House its deliberative character and to give it some real share in legislation. The remedies proposed and carried through were these:

1. A calendar day, one day in the week when members may call up for consideration any bill upon the calendar.

Recent Remedies and Reforms

2. The grant to a minority, say ten per cent of the membership, to demand a vote from the House whether any pending measure shall or shall not be reported by the committee to the House for its final adjudication.

3. Modification of the procedure so that there may be a reasonable time for real debate.

4. The appointment of committees by the House itself or by a committee selected by the House, and the choosing by the committees of their own chairmen.

5. Limitation of the Speaker's right of recognition.

6. A reseating of the House on the English plan so that speaking may be rendered less difficult.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE

The mode of procedure in the Senate is at the other extreme from that in the House. Its presiding officer has no power of directing the proceedings. It decides by common consent or by vote what measure shall be taken up and acted upon. It makes its own committees; the lists of majority and minority members being prepared and agreed upon, the complete list is then adopted. Up to 1917 debate was practically unlimited. The Senators might discuss any question as long as they chose. Such a thing as the "previous question" in any form was unknown. On March 8, 1917, after a prolonged filibuster by twelve Senators blocking important public business, the Senate voted to surrender its unlimited debate privilege and adopted a cloture rule. This permits sixteen Senators to call for a vote. If two-thirds of the Senate orders the vote, it is taken after each Senator has been allowed one hour for discussion.

The Senate Now the Forum for Discussion of Public Questions

The House by its Rules being no longer able to produce well thought out legislation, the Senate has assumed the initiative in certain kinds of legislation, really forbidden it by the Constitution. It is denied, for instance, the right to initiate fiscal measures. Such measures are, like all others, hastily rushed through the House by the arbitrary will of the majority. Then the Senate amends until even these bills become a new creation. For instance, the Bland bill passed the House by a two-thirds majority. The Allison amendments in the Senate so changed it that, when it returned to the House, Mr. Bland himself opposed it. The House, however, acquiesced as usual in the Senate amendments and the measure became known as the Bland-Allison bill.

The Senate Assumes Powers of the House

The defects in the procedure of the Senate are two: One lies in the equality of representation in the Senate of all states, both great and small. The other lies in the custom of relegating new Senators, no matter how great their ability or how distinguished their record, to unimportant committees. This custom deprives their States of a proper share in legislation and the nation of the benefit of their wisdom and knowledge. Moreover, since most of the states change their Senators frequently, it throws the control of all important legislation into the hands of a few.

Defects in Senate Procedure

Up until 1912 the state legislatures elected United States Senators. This method of election gave rise to great evils. State elections turned upon national instead of local issues. There was a constant effort to control state politics in the interests of the national parties. There was often a deadlock in the state legislatures lasting for weeks. Sometimes the deadlock could not be broken and the state was deprived of its due representation in the Senate and its influence in national affairs. And since a legislative body is the sole judge of the qualifications and elections of its own members, the state legislature often chose to overturn legal majorities and unseat

When State Legislatures Elected Senators

enough opponents to work its will. The method also afforded an easy opportunity for manipulation to their own ends by the interests that desire favorable legislation at Washington. As the Senators were intended by the framers of the Constitution to represent the sovereignty of the state, this method of election is based on the theory held in the eighteenth century that sovereignty lies in the legislative body. The method is out of place now, when it is seen that sovereignty lies nowhere but in the people.

The seventeenth amendment to the Constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators by the people was declared in force May 31, 1913. According to the amendment, the Senate shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. When vacancies occur in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of that state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. But the legislature of any state may empower the Executive to make a temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election, as the legislature may direct.

Senators Now Elected by the People

The House, the Senate and the Executive should work together harmoniously, since they are the co-ordinate branches of government, laboring for one common end, the welfare of the nation. This purpose of government should be kept before the child and should be used as a test to measure the acts of the different branches of government.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

A measure may be passed by the House and the Senate and approved by the President, and then, on a test case, be set aside as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The United States is the only country in the world that has set a court of review over the legislature. The Supreme Court of the United States is the only court in history allowed to pass on the validity of a national law.

A Court of Review Over the Legislature

For there are two kinds of laws—code laws and judiciary laws. They are the complements of each other. The tendency of the former is toward rigidity, toward confinement of a nation in the tightly fitting garments adapted to the conditions of life at the time when made. The tendency of the latter is toward elasticity, to loosen the garment here and there and adapt it to the varying conditions of later growth. Judiciary law is one solution of the problem that, sooner or later, confronts all nations that have written codes, namely, how to render the code elastic enough to adapt itself to changing conditions, to the ever-increasing wants of a rapidly growing population and the problems of new eras of development.

Laws, Code and Judiciary

Judge-made law had its origin in Rome. Roman law consisted at first of unwritten municipal customs. It lost elasticity when condensed into the Code of the Twelve Tables. The strait-jacket of the ancient laws fitted to one little city, was not large enough for a league of cities. Rome escaped from the strait-jacket by what is known as "equity," a name given to a body of principles built up by the jurisconsults (expert Roman lawyers who advised the magistrates). This body of principles finally became known as *jus gentium,* law common to all nations, law which natural reason, Justinian said, appoints for all mankind. Thus through the principles of equity or judge-made laws, Roman law was liberalized and adapted to the changed conditions of an expanding society.

The Origin of "Equity"

In like manner England adapted and liberalized her ancient laws. Her primitive system of customary laws became crystallized into a written form and, consequently, inelastic. After the Conquest the Normans established a great court at Westminster, and its decisions became a source of law for six centuries. By a remarkable legal fiction, the principles upon which the decisions were based were supposed to be drawn from the "common law," "an assumed pre-existing nebulous body of law." But this judiciary law, while very helpful in liberalizing the

English code, was not sufficiently effective, and England had recourse to "equity," a distinct set of principles built upon and alongside of English common law, but separate from it. The expansion of Roman equity ceased after its codification. England has always resisted codification.

The framers of the American Constitution did not want judge-made laws; they did not want the Constitution changed by the subtle influence of judges, who were not responsible to the people. They wanted the Constitution changed, when necessary, by the people themselves, and they placed within the instrument some elaborate machinery by which changes could be made. But this is so cumbrous that it well-nigh defeats its own end. Amendment of the Constitution, owing to the precautions of its framers, is an exceedingly slow and complicated process.

American Constitution Made Difficult to Amend

It was early evident that any adaptation to changing conditions dependent upon amendments to the Constitution was very difficult. Yet adaptations had to be made. Here was the opportunity of the Supreme Court. Although the proposal to give the power to the Court was voted down four times in the Constitutional Convention, Chief Justice Marshall, thirteen years after the Court was organized, declared in the case of Marbury vs. Madison that the Supreme Court possessed both the right and the power to declare null and void an act of Congress in violation of the Constitution. This declaration was in itself a pure creation of judge-made law, for there are no words in the Constitution from which the right can be drawn. This declaration was the beginning of that long course of action by which the Supreme Court justices have not only unfolded but, in effect, have amended the Constitution. The highest courts of other nations confine themselves to their real function of interpretation and application of constitutions. Ours alone make or change it.

The Opportunity of the Supreme Court

This power of amending the Constitution is wielded by a group of nine men who are appointed by the President for life and who are not, therefore, subject to control by the people. And because they are appointed for life the majority are old men, men born in another era and, therefore, unable to understand sympathetically the conditions, the problems, the hopes and aspirations of the later time. Moreover, since the vote on an important case often stands five to four, one man, a man not elected by the people, not in any way responsible to them, has the deciding voice in determining public policies. For that is what the Supreme Court does—determines lines of public policy. Its decision, for instance, in the Dartmouth College case, that the charter of a corporation is a contract, gave American corporations a position of security as to state legislation not occupied by corporations in other countries. In England no such problems as ours concerning corporations exist, for Parliament is omnipotent there. In the United States the solution of all our problems lies, not with Congress, but with the Supreme Court. So judge-made law has a power in the United States that it never at any time had in Rome or in England.

Judge-made Law Supreme in the United States

It is generally held that the three powers of our government are distinct and exactly co-ordinate. This is not the fact. America is no exception to the rule that wherever the ultimate defining power is vested in the judiciary, that branch of the government necessarily becomes supreme.

Three Branches of United States Government Are Not Co-ordinate

Since we have a written constitution and since the Supreme Court, by interpretation and amendment of it, determines policies, it is imperative that the justices should have more than a mere knowledge of law. They must be endowed with the spirit of liberal and constructive statesmanship and must be thoroughly grounded in the truth that the welfare of the people is the first and only object of all law—and is superior to law.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

"A constitution," says Bagehot, "is a collection of political means for political ends." The great danger of a written constitution is, that the means, by their admirable adaptation to the conditions of one period, are illy adapted to produce the required ends in the changed conditions of a later period. By its rigidity, a written constitution may become a barrier, an almost insuperable barrier, to progress.

The Danger of a Written Constitution

The United States has a written constitution, a constitution adopted many years ago in the infancy of the nation. One of the grave questions of to-day is whether our Constitution, well fitted to the needs of a small nation of some three million people, covering only a small area, and largely engaged in agriculture, is suited to the needs of a nation of a hundred millions of people, stretching from ocean to ocean and engaged not only in agriculture, but in industries and commerce that are international in their scope. The answer to the question lies in the view of the Constitution taken by the people and the Supreme Court.

Two Views of the Purpose of the Constitution

There are two schools of thought upon the subject: The one seems to decide that the Constitution made the nation, that it limits the powers of the nation, that it is a series of inelastic rules which can be changed only by the methods those rules themselves prescribe. The other holds that the Constitution was made by the nation, that it is simply the expression of certain principles by which the nation chooses to guide itself in the course of its growth and expansion. This school believes that the Constitution does not limit the powers of the nation, but determines how those powers shall be distributed. The difference between the two schools is well shown by the question: "Is the Constitution an anchor which fastens the ship of state in one place, or a rudder to guide it on its voyage?" Since government exists only to promote the welfare of the people, it would seem that there could

be but little question which view is correct, in the minds of those who wish their country to be the seat of such an organization of opportunity as will promote the happiness and well-being of all.

"Reactionaries" and "Progressives"

In general, the "reactionaries" in the nation, in Congress, and the Supreme Court, are strict constructionists, holding that the Constitution grants no powers that are not "expressed." With them most reform measures are unconstitutional. The "progressives" are loose constructionists, holding to the theory of "implied" powers in the Constitution.

The children should so thoroughly understand and revere the real object of government, that they can realize and appreciate the absurdity of regarding the men of one generation as competent to bind, by inflexible arrangements, the generations which succeed. The absurdity may be illustrated by local or well-known wills, by which testators, in endeavoring to provide for contingencies for one or two generations, only grievously hamper existing lives or institutions that they intended to benefit. None but Deity can foresee the changing conditions of the future.

Sacred Only as a Means to a Sacred End

By pointing out the changes that have already been made in the functions of different branches of our government and of the electoral college, the children may be made to realize for themselves that the Constitution is not a rigid body of rules, and by studying the Constitutional Convention that made it they can see that it is not a sacred thing in itself, that it is sacred only as a means to a sacred end.

When the Articles of Federation proved inadequate, a Constitutional Convention was held in Philadelphia to draft an instrument that should weld the states together into one compact union. The long war was over, liberty had been obtained, and people were concerning themselves with business. They wanted an instrument by which they could live undisturbed by any uncertainties

on the part of their government. Jefferson, the great leader of democracy, was absent in France, and Hamilton, who said in the Convention, "We need to be rescued from democracy," exerted his reactionary influence unchecked.

The Declaration of Independence asserts that government is based on the consent of the governed. Yet this Convention sat behind closed doors, no member was permitted to keep a record of its proceedings (though Madison did) or correspond with anyone on the subjects under discussion. Not all the states were represented in the Convention and in no state was the Constitution submitted to the people for ratification. Moreover, the Constitution gave the people but a small share in governing. There are three branches of government and the people were allowed to vote only for the House of Representatives or for one-sixth of the whole governing body. Chief Justice Clark of South Carolina, in his address upon the subject, to which the writer is greatly indebted, shows that the people were by the Constitution allowed to elect their Representatives first hand; their Senators second hand, voting for the state legislators who elected the Senators; their President third hand, presidential electors being chosen by the state legislatures until 1824 and so chosen by Colorado in 1876; and their judges fourth hand, these being appointed by the President. The people have succeeded in getting a larger share of governing into their own hands, voting now for President and in all the states for their Senators. Hamilton wanted to give the people still less share in governing, urging that the President be elected by Congress for life, and the Senators and Judges for life, and that the Governors of the states be appointed by the President.

The Constitution Was Not Made by the People or for the People

Growth of Popular Government

The Declaration of Independence also states that the people have a right to change their government at will—when it does not subserve their welfare or obey their wishes. Yet the Constitution renders the making of

amendment so cumbrous that it is exceedingly difficult to amend it.

The Declaration of Independence was concerned with the rights of man. The Constitution did not even include them. But many of the states would not ratify it unless they were included. So by preliminary agreement these rights were added in the first ten amendments, which the First Congress adopted. (The assumption by the Supreme Court of a power not given in the Constitution caused the enactment of the eleventh amendment. The method of electing the President nearly causing civil war in 1801 forced the adoption of the twelfth amendment.)

First Amendments of the Constitution

Of the sixty-five members of the Convention only fifty-five attended and only thirty-nine signed the Constitution. Some of the members actively opposed its ratification by their states, and in most of the states it was difficult to secure its ratification by the conventions. Indeed, without the influence of Washington and without the deep realization of the need for some instrument under which the nation could live, that the Constitution would probably never have been ratified is the judgment of many political students.

The Federal Constitution was adopted many years ago and has had but few changes to adapt it to the tremendous advances of a rapidly growing and progressive nation. In that period every state has radically revised its constitution, most of them several times, the average term of a state constitution being twenty years. The constitution of New York requires that the question of a constitutional convention shall be submitted to its people at least once in every twenty years, "in order that organized law shall keep abreast of the needs and wants of the people and represent the will and progress of to-day instead of being hampered by provisions deemed best by the divided counsels of a handful of men in providing for the wants of the government over a century ago."

Elasticity of State Constitutions

In the long period since the framing of the Federal Constitution, the nation has passed through a wonderful era of industrial and commercial development, producing an entirely different set of problems from those that confronted the framers of the Constitution, industrial and economic problems instead of political ones. The inability of the Constitution to adjust itself by amendment to these new conditions has led to the assumption of the amending power by the Supreme Court.

Industrial and Economic Problems Instead of Political Ones

England has no written constitution and no court of review. She adapts herself to new conditions easily. America has a written constitution and a court of review. The great thing to impress upon the children is the necessity of making the Constitution elastic, of interpreting it so that it shall be a help, not a hindrance, to the effort of the people to secure economic justice and liberty.

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